(IN 1318 A.D.)

R. Nath
&
Faiyaz 'Gwaliari'

HRD
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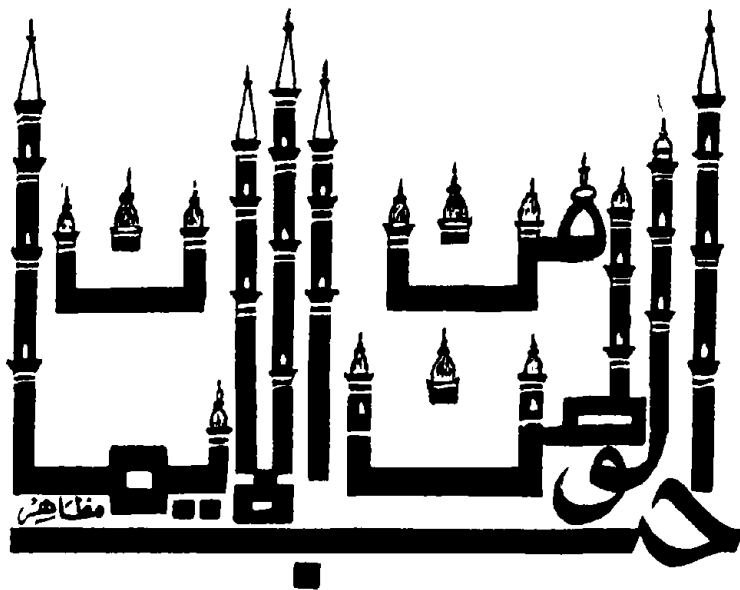
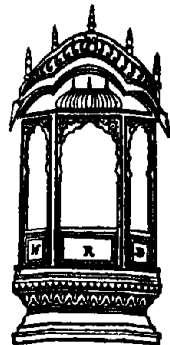

INDIA AS SEEN

R. Nath
&
Faiyaz 'Gwaliari'

BY
AMIR KHUSRAU
(IN 1318 A.D.)

HISTORICAL RESEARCH DOCUMENTATION PROGRAMME .
JAIPUR

To
The Memory of
DR MUHAMMAD WAHID MIRZA

PREFACE

This is English translation of the Third Chapter (Sipihr) of Amīr Khusrau's Mathnawī the **Nuh-Sipihr** (also known as the 'Sultān-Nāmeh') which is the most important and the most famous of his works It was written in the year A.H. 718/ 1318 A.D. at the instance of the ruling Khaljī Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, to whom it is rightly dedicated. The **Nuh-Sipihr** was composed when Khusrau was 65 and a matured and accomplished poet, and this work is undoubtedly an excellent piece of Persian literature.

Though designed to record, in the spirit of a history, the principal events of the reign of Mubārak Shāh, upon whom he showers extra-lavish eulogies the **Nuh-Sipihr** is more important for its description of India and its people, their knowledge and learning, arts and sciences, its fauna and flora and almost all good points which make India the Paradise on earth Khusrau was a patriot to the core and his personality is most brilliantly revealed in this work He sings a thousand songs in praise of his motherland and exerts his wits to prove India's superiority to all other countries of the world.

The great Mathnawī is divided into nine chapters, each dedicated to a sky; thus the first chapter is dedicated to the Ninth and the highest sky, second to the Eighth, third to the Seventh and so on, in a descending order. Hence the title of the work : **Nuh-Sipihr** (Nine-Skies).

Title of each chapter is given in a beautiful couplet, thus there are nine chapter-couplets. Sub-headings have also been given in each chapter, each sub-heading also being a couplet. In all, there are 52 topics in the **Nuh-Sipihr.** The number '52' is considered auspicious in India and the distribution of the work into 52 headings is meaningful.

It is the third chapter which mostly deals with India and the things Indian and, by far, this is the most important chapter of this composition. The present work is essentially a translation of this chapter The Persian text of the **Nuh-Sipihr** edited by Dr. Muhammad Wahid Mirza (Oxford University Press Calcutta, 1950) has been used for this translation It has been referred to hereafter in this work as the **NS** It excludes the last two sub-headings of the third chapter which are related to the military campaigns of Deogiri and Telingana Thus, mainly, it is translation of he **NS** pp 147-195 (49 pages). Besides, 14 couplets of the ninth chapter (Topic No. 51 **NS** pp 442-43) have also been translated under Chapter-VIII Important material, not covered by the main text (**NS**, 147-195), which was lying scattered in the whole work has also been collected and arranged in three Appendices C, D and E, e g To the Hindu Singer, 'Khusrau s Description of the Buildings of Delhi' and 'Khusrau s Vindication of India's Sovereignty, which would be immensely useful in the present context.

The text of this translation has been divided into eight chapters, each with a suitable heading in accordance with its subject-matter. Comprehensive explanatory notes have been given side by side. Very often, Khusrau alludes to different countries of the medieval orient The Map of the world has greatly changed during the six and a half centuries which have since passed. To give an idea of the geography of early 14th century, a Map has also been appended. Page numbers in the margin refer to Dr Muhammad Wahid Mirza s Persian edition of the **Nuh-Sipihr** (The-**NS**) to facilitate checking with the original text.

The translators are overwhelmingly grateful to the learned editor of the **Nuh-Sipihr** Dr Muhammad Wahid Mirza who devoted, probably, several years of his hard labour to prepare this extremely standard edition of the work. He has led us to Khusrau; without his contribution to the subject, neither Khusrau s genius, nor his patriotism would have been known to the world. This translation is very respectfully dedicated to the memory of Dr Muhammad Wahid Mirza.

For nearly 15 years, since I taught Khusrau at Agra College as an aspect of Medieval Indian Culture, his **Nuh-Sipihr** fascinated me the most and I entertained the ambition to translate this work in order to enlarge the scope of its study and to convey its message to a large number of non-Persian students, scholars and historians. With my limited knowledge of the Persian, however, it was not right for me to take up such a master-piece of Persian literature as the **NS**, alone The assistance of a competent scholar of the Persian was inevitable My migration to Gwalior proved to be a boon to me in this respect as here, fortunately, I came into contact with Mr Faiyaz Gwaliari, an elderly gentleman of 72 and a noted poet of Urdu who is also ve y well-versed in the Persian as the old maktab-and-madrasah-taught scholars generally are We have done it together He has carefully looked after the linguistic aspect of the work while the responsibility for its historical aspect, the Introduction, the Notes and the Appendices is exclusively mine.

It may be emphasized that this is not a literal translation. The present translators have followed the spirit of the text and have tried to arrive at, and

وز نبی رسول آمده کای زمرهٔ دین حب وطن هست ز ایمان به یقین

express, the real meaning of a statement which, in fact, the poet had intended to convey to his readers under cover of poetic hyperboles, symbols and riddles

There would be mistakes; the present translators are fully conscious of their limitations It is their humble attempt to bring to light Khusrau's marvellous experiment in the thought which now we call Nationalism which is as good a piece of the Cultural History of Medieval India, as it is of Persian literature. There is no point in denying that our attempt has been historical, pure and simple, and, at times, the literary aspect, not being feasible in the present context, has been superseded Only a part of it has been done by the humble translators. A lot still remains to be done and it is expected that scholars and historians of Medieval Indian History and Culture, particularly the historians of the Khaljis, will come forward to take up and do this hitherto almost neglected work, which would not only be useful to them for writing up and revising their works but also to the next generation to understand their medieval history more sympathetically, correctly and honestly, than we have done in our age.

My heartiest thanks are due to Dr S. A. Ali (Secretary, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies New Delhi) for his kindly lending me the extremely rare copy of Dr Mirza s edition of the **Nuh-Sipihr** and for his much valuable suggestions His affection has always been a great source of inspiration and encouragement and a trustworthy asset to me. I am also grateful to Mr A Tyabji (Oxford University Press New Delhi) and Dr A A A. Fyzee (Ex-President and Secretary Islamic Research Association Bombay) for their kindly clearing the matter regarding this translation. I thank them heartily

This book has been designed by my daughter Neelima who has also done i's art-work. The Persian Tughras have been composed by Maulvi Mazahir Husain, to whom I express my heartiest thanks.

I also thank the HISTORICAL RESEARCH DOCUMENTATION PROGRAMME Jaipur for bringing it out so impressively.

Jaipur : 1st May 1981

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P S It is regretted that Mr Faiyaz 'Gwaliari' died in the meantime and he could not see this work published in such a beautiful format Like Amir Khusrau, he also composed a thousand patriotic verses and dedicated them to his Motherland in 'WATAN which is his most important collection of poems The present work is his last service to the Country

Publishers' Note

This is our first venture which we have tried our best to produce in a perfectly readeable way We admit, we had no experience in this field and many things could have been better and more impressive Exhorbitant costs of the material and art-work much stood in the way of our design

Printing errors, chiefly related to diacritical marks and broken letters, have crept in in spite of our best efforts owing to press difficulties Persian type could not be had and in a number of cases in Notes words in the Devanagari script have been used instead. This was the nearest alternative

We beg the forgiveness of our learned Readers

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Amir Khusrau was a Turk and a soldier by birth. His very title *'Turkullāh'* (The Turk or Soldier of God), which was bestowed upon him by his Pīr Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā, shows that he was of Turkish origin. His ancestors had migrated to India in the early 13th century on the eve of Ghengis (Changis) Khan's onslaughts. His father Amīr Saifu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd settled down at Patiyali (in District Etah in Uttar Pradesh, which was then situated on the bank of the river Ganga) and entered the service of Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.). Owing to the extremely turbulent condition of Central Asia and Persia as a result of Mongol ravages, poets, qāḍis, imāms, muftīs darweshes, doctors of religion and law and other learned men were constantly migrating to India. They were given a welcome shelter and patronage by the Sulṭān and Delhi was fast becoming the centre of a great civilization and culture which soon excelled Bukhara and Baghdad.

Saifu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd was an Amīr (Noble) and held a respectable position in the army and, Probably, the fief of patiyali. He was married to the daughter of august Imād'ul-Mulk, an important noble of Iltutmish and, later, 'The Pillar of the State' of Balban. 'Abul Hasan Khusrau who is famous as Amir Khusrau was born to them in A.H.

651/1253 A.D. at Patiyali, where he spent his early childhood, playing on the banks of the river Ganga along with the country folks. His father was very particular about his studies and Khusrau was sent to Maktab at an early age. Some scholars were also engaged to teach him at home. He was a genius and born a poet. Several incidents which show his natural talent and God's gift to compose excellent verses even at such a tender age are generally recounted. Thus, it is said that once he was asked in a learned assembly by Khwājah 'Ijju'd-Dīn to compose a verse with four discordant things, namely, hair, egg, arrow and melon; he composed a quatrain ex-tempore which read : "A Thousand eggs of Amber are stuck to every hair in the tresses of that beauty; do not consider her nature to be straight like an arrow, for, like the melon, the seeds of love are concealed in her heart"[1]. He was about 8 on the death of his father which occurred in 659/1261; moved by the grief of the demise of his beloved father, he is recorded to have composed a touching couplet which read as follows . "Saif passed away from me, leaving my heart cut into two parts Tears roll down my eyes and I remain like a solitary pearl "[2] It is almost incredible that he knew at that early age how to play with words and use them with double meaning, poetically.

Another legend is related to his meeting with Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Din Auliyā It is said that while only a boy, he went to his Khānqah; but he did not go inside and preferred to stay at the door, remarking : "I shall select my pir myself, and if he is bestowed with divine power he will converse with me even from distance." Thus sitting at the door, he composed .—

> **" Tū ān shāh-e ki bar aiwān -i- qasrat,**
> **Kabūtar gar nashinad bāz gardad**
> **Gharib-e mustamande bar dar āmad,**
> **Biyāyat andarūn yā bāz gardad. "**

(You are such a mighty King that if a pigeon sits on your palace, it turns into a hawk. An outsider and a needy person has come at your door, please let him know whether he should come in, or go away) The Sheikh who was invested with supernatural powers sent him the following verse in reply :—

" Biyāyat andarūn marde haqīqat,
Ki bāmā yak nafas hamrāz gardad;
Agar ablah buwad āṇ marde nādāṇ,
Azān rāhe ki āmad bāz gardad. "

(The person who knows the Truth may come inside so that we may exchange divine secrets between us for a moment. If that person is ignorant, then he should return on the same path from which he has come here). Khusrau immediately got up, ran to the Sheikh, fell upon his feet and wept. The latter accepted him as his disciple and gradually the two became inseparably attached to each other. This is a popular Dargāh-legend. The learned Professor Mirza has a different version :- "Such a man could not but appreciate the talents of the poet, and so it was with real affection and genuine pleasure that the Saint received Khusrau when he called upon him to enrol himself in the growing throng of his disciples. 'A Turk has come to see us', he said to his servant. 'show him in'. 'Welcome and greetings' ! he said to Khusrau as the latter entered, and showed him great favour bestowing upon him a barānī and a four-cornered cap (kulāh chahār-turkī)."[3] It appears that Khusrau became his disciple much later. Be it as it may, the fact stands that the Saint liked him the most. He conferred the title of 'Turkullāh' upon him and is said to have remarked : "I hope on the day of Judgement to be expunged of all blame by the fire that burns in the heart of this Turk."[4] There was great attachment between them. Khusrau once said :—

" Har qaum rāst rāhe, dīn-e va qiblah gāhe,
Mān qiblah rāst kardīm bar tarf kaj kulāhe. "

(Every people have their own religion and object of worship. I have also fixed my qiblah viz. Sheikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn who wears an inclined cap and I am submitting my reverence to him). This affectionate Murshīd-Murīd relationship continued for nearly fifty years till the end of their lives.

Notwithstanding the popular anecdotes, there is hardly any doubt about Khusrau's poetic genius which began to shine, indeed, at an early age, He himself alludes to it in the Dībācha of *Tuhfat'ul-Sighar*:- "My father used to send me to the 'Maktab' for study but

I repeated only rhymes and my learned teacher Sa'īdu'd-Dīn (or Asadu'd-Dīn) Muhammad, the calligraphist, popularly known as the Qāḍī, tried to teach me calligraphy while I composed verses about the silken down on fair faces. In spite of the persistent efforts of my teacher, continuous and long like the tresses descending from head to foot on the back of a beauty, I would not renounce my infatuation for the locks and the mole. As a consequence, at that tender age I began to compose verses and ghazals that roused the admiration and wonder of my elders."[5]

After his father's death, Khusrau was brought up in the household, and under the care, of his maternal grandfather Imād'ul-Mulk. He was a great noble who not only lived with luxury, but who was also a patron of arts and letters. Under him, young Khusrau got an excellent opportunity to read the Persian classics and practice poetry. "He listened eagerly to the learned discourses of the scholars, the artistic recitals of the poets and the melodious songs of the musicians, and found ample opportunity for exercising his own poetic talent by writing poems in praise of his grandfather's distinguished guests."[6] This sophisticated, cultural environment prepared the young genius for the highest ideals of Persian poetry.

The death of his grandfather was, naturally, a great shock to Khusrau who composed a long and touching elegy on this occasion; he exclaimed : "That lamp is blown out, the Torch of Heaven is obscured. Alas ! the foundation of the two worlds is ruined. Why does not the 'Āriḍ go to the royal presence ? Where hides the great minister and why comes he not to the Dīwan ?.... O Āsaf ! even the Sulṭān weeps for thee and O 'Ariḍ, the dīwān itself mourns thy death The supporting pole (pillar) of the celestial dome itself has succumbed, for pavilions and belvederes of the royal palace are in mourning.....The Turks have discarded their 'Kulāhs' and in grief have rent their cloaks down to the skirt, while the Hindu Rais, with bare heads like Brahmins, weep in bewildered sorrow."[7]

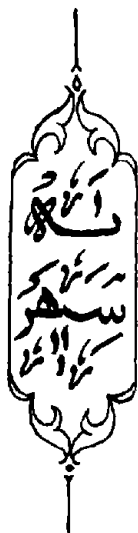
It was some time after this, when he was nearly 20, about the year 671/1272, that Khusrau enrolled himself in the cortege of Malik Jhujhū (also called Malik Chhajjū) 'Alāu' d-Dīn Kishlī Khān, the Chief Chamberlain and nephew of the Sulṭān, Balban, who was a great patron

of letters and who excelled all his contemporaries in generosity. The Malik greatly liked the young poet. Khusrau narrates: "For two years, I sang his praises in some of the most ornate odes ......I was constantly present in the garden of that cypress and refreshed his court with the soft breezes that blew from the lily of my tongue. "[8]

After his relations with the Malik became slightly strained, Khusrau attached himself to the court of Bughra Khan (son of Sulṭān Balban) who was, then, governor of the fortress of Samana on the western frontier. Khusrau travelled to Lakhnauti (Bengal) with him, when Bughra Khan was invited to accompany the Sulṭān against the rebel Tughril, who was reduced after a hot chase. When Bughra Khan was appointed Governor of Lakhnauti, Khusrau, allergic to its climate, preferred to return to Delhī with the Sulṭān (c. 680/1281).

Soon thereafter, he was introduced to prince Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Sulṭān and the Heir-Apparent, who was then the Governor of Multan. The poet's fame had already reached the Prince. He was pleased to hear a few verses from the poet and readily took him to his court. Khusrau went to Multan with him.

The Prince was an extremely cultured man and a great patron of poets, scholars and saints. He was particularly fond of poetry and read the Persian classics with taste and interest. Khusrau lived at his court along with another great poet of his age, viz. Amīr Najimu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Sanjarī (popularly known as Amīr Ḥasan). Both were close friends. It seems that the poet was married about the same time, though his family continued to stay at Delhi. He would come to the capital every year along with the Prince who paid annual visits to the Royal court.

It was, however, the most formative period of his career. Not only did he compose extensively, his works were full of poetic grace and excellence also. His fame spread far and wide. He was known in Persia and even such a great master as Sa'dī admired him. It is said that the Prince twice invited Sa'dī to Multan, but the Wizard of Shiraz declined on grounds of age and health. However, he sent him a copy of his selected verses "and a special recommendation of Amir Khusrau, for whom he expressed a profound admiration."[9]

Khusrau lived with the Prince at Multan for nearly five years. The Mongol menace continued unabated. Towards the close of the year 683/1284-85, a large Mongol army invaded the country. In the battle which ensued, the valiant Prince Muḥammad was killed and Amir Khusrau who had accompanied him to the battle-field was made a captive. He escaped with great difficulty. The Prince was very popular among his subjects and there was mourning in the whole city when Khusrau returned to Multan. He came back to Delhi and composed a marvellous elegy on the death of his patron which had, in fact, shaken the whole Empire. The old Sulṭān, Balban, also broke down and died soon thereafter in 685/1286.

Delhi politics was fast deteriorating. Feuds and intrigues became the order of the day. The claim of Kaikhusrau (son of the Late Prince Muhammad), who was nominated by Balban to succeed him, was set aside and, instead, Kaiqubad (son of Bughra Khan) was raised to the throne. A handsome youth of 18, he had been brought up under the strict surveillance of his puritan grandfather. All of a sudden, he found a crown upon his head; he seized the former and lost the latter ! He gave himself up freely to pleasure and merrymaking. Licentiousness was let loose and his court became full of buffoons, dancing-girls, musicians and drunkards. Khusrau attached himself to Malik Amīr Alī Sarjāndar, populary known as Ḥātam Khān, Khān-i-Jahān, at this time. When Hatam Khān was appointed Governor of Oudh after the happy union of Kaiqubad and his father Bughra Khan at the city of Oudh (Ajodhya) and final reconciliation, he bade Khusrau to reside in Oudh. The poet was thus compelled to leave his beloved city Delhi again. Though he has many things to say in praise of Oudh, he did not like to stay there and always longed for Delhi. He lived there for nearly two years Ultimately, he asked his master for permission to go back to Delhi. It was granted with magnificent presents. Khusrau returned to Delhi and rejoined his friends, relatives, his dear mother and family.

Soon after his return, he was called by the Sulṭān, Kaiqubad who asked him to compose a Maṯẖnawī on his historical meeting with his father, The poet, consequently, composed *Qirān' us-Sa'dain* and completed it in 688/1289 after ceaselessly working on it for nearly six months. The Sulṭān rewarded him munificently and appointed him Poet-Laureate of the Empire. Thus Khusrau entered the Royal Court, through

the patronage of a worthless King ! Kaiqubad was soon overthrown and killed and Jalālu'd-dīn Firoz Khaljī ascended the throne of Delhi in 689/1290. Amir Khusrau was now a court poet and "part of the Royal paraphernalia that changed hands at the death of each successive monarch and, like the black canopy, the crown and the throne, the palaces, the slaves and elephants, became property of the new master." [10] However, Khusrau had genuine affection and respect for his new patron, the pious old Sulṭān who also treated him with great honour and benevolence. The poet composed *Miftāḥ'ul-Futūḥ* under him.

It seems to be a strange feature of his career that Khusrau never sank into politics, he always remained above it. He worshipped the rising Sun only, and never lamented for the Sun that had set ! Whosoever sat on the throne, Khusrau adored him and composed his panegyrics for him. Thus, he would compose for Kaiqubad who was a debauch and who never cared for the State or the People, at all. When 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī treacherously and cruelly murdered his innocent uncle and father-in-law, Sulṭān Jalālu'd-Dīn Firoz Khaljī and ascended the throne of Delhi in 695/1296, Khusrau "wrote and presented to him a panegyric congratulating him on his success .....: 'May you be blessed with the glory of the Khutba of Delhi : This happy augury I draw from the nine lots of skies."[11] He was never attached to the person of the King, but only to the throne. 'Kingship knew no kinship' and Khusrau understood it in the right perspective; he too knew 'Kingship' only and did not know any other 'kinship' !

Shall we accuse him of telling a thousand lies to please his patron in the spirit of a court poet ? That was all politics–which is, more often than not, a cruel and unscrupulous game of Chess. Khusrau never wasted his precious feelings for those chess-men of politics who filled the throne one after the other, who were placed on, or removed from, it by Fate or feuds. His inherent attachment and sentimental affiliation was not to the King for whom professionally he sang his praises, for which he was paid; he was attached and affiliated to something else for which he was not paid–which was his labour of love and faith. Since he became disciple of Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, "his heart was set on things beyond sordid worldly intrigues and ambitions and, although he still continued to sing the praises of princes, all his serious thoughts

dwelt in the realm of spiritual bliss and ecstasy,"[12] on the one hand, and the *love of his motherland* on the other. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Khusrau is not famous for his grand eulogies which he composed as a professional poet in praise of his patrons, which are now lying concealed under heaps of dust in various libraries of the world, but for his excellent poems on *Humanism* and, on a greater degree, for his *patriotic compositions,* which constitute a unique poetry in the whole range of Persian language unmatched by any other similar example, and which set a sublime trend in the History of Medieval Indian Culture.

Khusrau accompanied Sultan 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī on his Chittor expedition. It was captured in 703/1303. The poet composed *Khazāin'ul Futūh* as a record of the conquests of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's reign. The Sulṭān was illiterate and, moreover, he was a man of practical disposition. He had little taste for arts and literature. Thus, though he confirmed Khusrau in the office 'Muṣḥafdār' conferred upon him by Firoz Khalji, he did not patronize him as generously as his predecessors had done. In any case, his reign was the most productive period of Khusrau's life.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi in 716/1316 Like Kaiqubad, he was also given to gaiety and merry-making. He loved music and poetry. Khusrau was generously patronized by the new Sultān. The poet recounted in the *NS* that once the King sat among his courtiers at leisure, discussing poetry. He commented that great poets come up and shine as a result of generous patronage of the kings. In the same vein, he declared : "I aspire to give hundred times more to those who ask for rewards, and to give an elephant's weight of gold from rich and countless treasures to the man who writes well the history of my reign "[13] Khusrau took up the task and composed his wonderful Mathnawī the *NUH-SIPIHR* as a result of this offer He finished it in 718/1318 and named it 'Sulṭān-Nāmeh'. [14]

Mubārak Shāh was assassinated by his favourite slave and minister, the Parwār -convert, Khusro Khan who had a brief reign of about two months on the throne. He was defeated and killed by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (Ghāzī Tughluq) who founded the Tughluq dynasty in 720/1320. He was an extremely pious and virtuous man and treated Khusrau very kindly. In spite of the fact that the

Sulṭān's relations with Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn were constantly estranged, Khusrau pulled on with the State amicably well. He accompanied the Sulṭān to Oudh and Lakhnauti in 724/1323-24. The tragedy of Afghanpur put the life of the Sulṭān to an end and his son Ulugh Khan, later known as Muhammad bin Tughluq, ascended the throne of Delhi in 725/1325. The Saint also died soon thereafter. Khusrau was away in Oudh at that time. When he returned to Delhi, he was shocked to hear the sad news. He broke down and read a Hindi couplet :—

"Gorī sowe sej par, mukh par dāre kes,
Chal Khusrau ghar āpne, ren bhayī chahun des."

(The fair damsel is reclining on the bed with her face covered by tresses, O Khusrau, you also start for your home – in the world beyond, for the night has fallen all over the world !). The poet also died only a few months after the Saint's death in 725/1325. He was buried at the foot of his Pīr's grave in the same compound at the Dargah Nizamuddin Delhi. His original tomb seems to have been ruined, and repairs and renovations were done to it during the Mughal period, under Babur, Humayun, Akbar and Jehangir, inscriptions whereof are extant.[15]

Khusrau was a prolific writer and composed the following works [16] :—

A. Dīwāns :— *(1) Tuhfat-us-sighar*
(2) Wast-ul-Ḥayāt
(3) Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl
(4) Baqīya-Naqīya
(5) Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl

B. Mathnawīs :— *(1) Qirān-us-Sa'dain*
(2) Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ
(3) 'Ashīqa
(4) NUH-SIPIHR
(5) Tughluq-Nāmah

C. Khamsa :— *(1) Matla -ul-Anwār*
(2) Shīrīn-o-Khusrau
(3) Āina-i-Sikandarī

(4) *Hasht-Bihisht*
(5) *Majnūn-o-Leylā*

D. Ghazliyāt :— Collection of Lyrics

E. Prose Works —(1) *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi (or Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ)*
(2) *Afdal-ul-Fawāid*
(3) *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*

F. Hindi Poetry :— *Khāliq Bārī* and numerous Hindi poems.

Tuhfat-us-Ṣighar is the first collection of Khusrau's poems, made about the year 671/1272. Most of its qasīdas are in praise of Balban and Prince Muhammad and other patrons of the poet, e. g. Malik Jhujhu and Hatam Khan. It also contains the beautiful elegy on the death of his grandfather 'Imādul-Mulk.

Waṣt'ul-Ḥayāt : is second collection of his poems, made by him in his 32nd year. He named it *Wast'ul-Ḥayāt* (The Middle of Life). Most of its 58 qasīdas are in praise of Khusrau's patrons beginning from Prince Muhammad to Jalālu'd-Din Firoz Khaljī. It also contains verses on the catastrophe of Multan and Khusrau's captivity. In a way it is historically more important than his first Dīwān.

Ghurrat'ul-Kamāl : (The Prime of Perfection) : is the third and the most important of his five diwāns. It was compiled by Khusrau himself in 693/1294. It contained poems composed during the last ten years when Khusrau was at the prime of his youth and full of pathos to the brim [1] It contains more than 90 qaṣīdas and other fragments and quatrains. Apart from the usual panegyrics, there are some finest specimens of Khusrau's poetry. It also contains the short Mathnawī *Miftāh-ul-Futūḥ* which is sometimes considered to be a separate work.[1] Khusrau also deals with the art of poetry. In this work, as in the *NS*, he speaks highly of Indian language and poetry. He praises Indian scholars who are unexcelled in poetic talent in the whole world, and the Indian Persian which has not been corrupted as in other countries but has retained its originality and purity : "When we possess such uniformity of idiom, it is but natural that our poetry is great. This

Persian of ours is, moreover, the original and pure Persians,"[18] so exclaimed Khusrau. The Dīwān also contains some extremely interesting quatrains which are as invaluable for the study of linguistics as for sociological conditions in early medieval India.

Baqīya-Naqīya : is his fourth Diwan which he compiled in 716/1316. It contains 63 qasīdas, 165 couplets of Mat͟hnawīs, 200 fragments, 570 ghazals, 360 quatrains and other verses, and is, in fact a volumnious work. Qaṣīdas, as usual, are eulogical. There is also an elegy on the death of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī. Some quatrains are typical of Khusrau's impressive style of poetry.

Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl · is his fifth and the last Dīwān which he made towards the close of his life in the very year of his death in 725/1325. Though this also contains a number of qasīdas, short mat͟hnawīs, ghazals and other verses, it is the smallest of his dīwāns.

Qirān'us-Sa'dain · is his first long poem in Mat͟hnawī form which Khusrau composed, as noted above, at the command of Kaiqubad. He completed it in 688/1289. He added a section to it later. He described the meeting and reconciliation between Sulṭān Kaiqubad and his father Bughra Khan, on the bank of the river Saryu, hence the title *Qirān'us-Sa'dain* (The Conjunction of the two Auspicious Stars).

Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ · is his second historical Mat͟hnawī which was completed in 690/1291. It contains an account of the victories of Jalālu'd-Dīn Firoz Khaljī. As observed above, it forms part of his Dīwān *Ghurrat'ul-Kamāl*.

The *'Ashīqa* (also called *'Ishqiyya* and *Khidr Khān-o-Dewalrānī*) : is his third historical Mat͟hnawī. It was finished in 715/1315. It is a romantic poem which deals with the love-story of Khiḍr Khān the Heir-apparent, and Diwalrānī, the beautiful princess of Deogir. As it also contains a pathetic account of their tragic end, it seems to have been completed after the death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn, some time about the accession of Mubarak Shah. Like his other works, *'Ashīqa* is also full of expressions of patriotism which is a dominant characteristic of Khusrau's poetry. The poem "breathes of patriotism, the artist's love for the land of his birth It is fragrant with the smell of the Kewrā, the

Kamā, the Champak and the hundreds of sweet Indian flowers and spices, and is luminous with the bright Indian sun and the pale, cool, moonlight. The poet sprinkles here and there words of Indian origin that blend beautifully with Persian and give to the poem a distinction and a peculiar elegance. It is itself like the Indian beauties, who, as Khusrau says, are not like the pink and white beauties of Khallukh and Yaghmā having colour without sweetness, cold as a block of ice, but have grace and elegance, warmth and charm."[19]

The *NUH-SIPIHR* (The Nine Skies): is fourth historical Mathnawī which was completed in 718/1318. It celebrates the glories of Mubārak Shāh's reign. Written in a simple and singularly graceful style, it is marked with spontaneity and naturalness of expression–as if the whole thing has flowed from the heart and the soul of the poet as naturally as a rivulet flows through the wilderness! It is an authentic historical record of contemporary events of Mubārak Shāh's reign and a unique poetical work of immense literary value; over and above that it is also Amir Khusrau's marvellous experiment in Nationalism. Hitherto, his patriotism had been expressed only casually, now and then, and never as a concerted theme; here it is the main theme of this work, particularly its Third Sipihr which is the essence of this great Mathnawi.

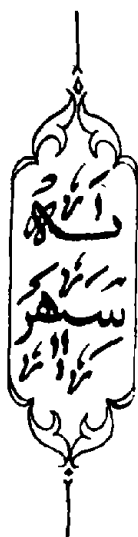
It is divided into Nine Sipihrs (Chapters) of unequal length, each corresponding to one of the nine traditional skies, hence the title of the work *NUH-SIPIHR* (Nine-Skies). Each chapter has been composed in a different metre.[20] Each opens with the mention of the 'sky' to which it corresponds and ends with a Sāqī-Nāmeh and a beautiful ghazal. Khusrau's Introduction contains the usual eulogies and also touching praises of his Pīr Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā whom the poet held in highest esteem

The *First Sipihr* which corresponds to the top-most sky, which is ninth from below, opens with a panegyric on Mubārak Shāh. It also records the incident which led to the composition of this work. Such events as Mubārak Shāh's accession to the throne in an auspicious hour, his conquest of Deogir etc. have been narrated.

The *Second Sipihr* begins with an eulogical description of Mubarak Shah's buildings at Delhi, e. g. the completion of the Qasr-i-

Naw (The New Palace) and erection of a large Jami' (congregational) Mosque and a minaret of polished stone in its compound. It also contains a detailed account of Khusrau Khan's campaigns in the Deccan. The poet then sings of the greatness of Delhi and proclaims its superiority over all other important cities of the world like Baghdad, Cairo, Khurasan, Bukhara and Khwarizm.

The *Third Sipihr* is the most interesting and the most important of this work. It deals with India, its climate, flowers, fruits, birds, animals, knowledge, learning, arts, sciences, languages, religious beliefs and other Indian things. The poet has proved India's superiority over all other countries of the world, in every respect. He claimed that India was the Paradise on earth, and this way Amir Khusrau was the right precursor of the Grand Mughal who, around the middle of the 17th century A. D., declared at Delhi: "Agar Firdaus bar ruye zamīn-ast, hamīn-asto hamīn-asto hamīn-ast." The following translation of the Third Sipihr is an eloquent testimony of Khusrau's art as a poet and also his love of his motherland as a Patriot. It is here than anywhere else that the poet's chief characteristic viz. originality of style and thought, is most faithfully imprinted.

The *Fourth Sipihr* contains words of wisdom addressed to the King, the Heir-apparent, the nobles, the soldiers and the public; it deals with ideals of statecraft and the principles of morality. The *Fifth Sipihr* describes an Indian winter, the Sultan's hunting excursion, various types of animals and other allied subjects. There is also a dialogue between the Royal bow and the arrow. The *Sixth Sipihr* contains an account of the birth of a son to the Sulṭān and festivities held on this occasion. The *Seventh Sipihr* deals with the splendours of the Indian season of Spring (Basant), the New Year's Day and various festivities. It also contains a description of the musical instruments then in vogue and of the Indian dancing-girls. The *Eighth Sipihr* has a description of Indian Autumn and the Sulṭān's play of Chaughān. There is also a dialogue between the ball and the stick, symbolically expounding the doctrines and principles of Mystic love. The *Ninth Sipihr* is devoted to the poet himself. Mercury 'The Scribe of the Sky' paid him a visit and admired his poetic skill, he even acknowledged Khusrau's superiority to himself. Self-praise is the underlying current of this concluding chapter.

The Mathnawī is a great masterpiece, undoubtedly, the best of his works. The *NS* "in several respects is unique in the whole range of Persian poetry."[21] Though he does not seem to have received an elephant's weight of gold, no doubt, he was munificently rewarded for this work which he deemed to be his best poetic composition: "The gift that I have got from a Jem like you (O King!), I had rarely obtained from former kings, and the poetry, composed by this old wizard of a poet, is also worthy of the gift. My previous compositions can scarcely touch this special poem, for in it I have employed a new mode of description and have poured an ocean of ideas on every page."[22] He expressed his intense love of India and the things Indian in this work freely and extensively. Though Mubārak Shāh was inimical to his beloved Pīr Sheikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā, and his general behaviour too was almost outrageous, Khusrau did not mind lavishing praises on him, regularly at the end of every chapter of this work, because through these eulogies, he was able to produce and present a poetry which was full of his inherent feeling of patriotism. He was paid for panegyrics, not for praising India or Indian culture, knowledge and learning, arts and sciences and a hundred good things of India. On the other hand, he only invited the wrath of the orthodox by his defending the Brahmans and even going to prove their superiority in respect of learning, faith and devotion, as he has done eloquently and unreservedly in the *NS* as the following translation would show. Such a reaction seems to have followed indeed. There is a poem in his fifth and last Dīwān *Nihāyat'ul-Kamāl*, (compiled towards the close of the poet's life after the death of Tughluq Shah, just about the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq, i.e. c.1325) addressed to Syed Tāju'd-Dīn; it is a "long and vehement protest against a charge of disrespectfulness towards the Prophet's family levelled against the poet by his opponents."[23] Obviously, the 'Ulema who felt offended by Khusrau's free exercise of his patriotic feelings in defiance of their orthodox injunctions were seeking excuses to bring him to task and to wreak their vengeance upon him. "The fact that the poem is addressed to a Syed and is full of urgent and earnest appeal would suggest that *the poet was in real trouble* as a result of this presumably false accusation. He says: 'They have alleged that in the writings of this slave there is a verse or two which may be construed to be defamatory to the Prophet's family......A suspicion there may be, no doubt, but it is not a certainty.[24] Why should a believer like me be persecuted[25] for a mere suspicion?' He then swears by God, by the Prophet, the apostles, the Quran, the noble Muhājirs and ansār (The

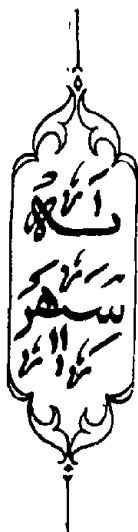
Companions of the Prophet), the prayer-carpet of his Sheikh and by all the saints that he had never intentionally uttered a word likely to wound the feelings of the Prophet's descendants. 'And if,' he continues, 'I have, *inadvertently, been guilty of an imprudence, well God alone is free from* error.' He concludes with profuse excuses and asks forgiveness of God and man."[26] The matter does not seem to have surfaced to the public, and was hushed up on his death. In any case, the new Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not at all prepared to extend either an eager ear or a helping hand to the 'Ulema.

It was on account of his faith in such patriotic compositions that Khusrau declared himself to be *Ṭūṭī-i-Hind* :

"Khudāyā chu Khusrau darīn bostān,
Kuhn Ṭūṭī-ye shud ze Hindostān."[27]

(O God, you have created Khusrau like a Ṭūṭī in this garden of Hindustan). The Ṭūṭī of Hind "gives in it some of the sweetest melodies that ever flowed from his lyre."[28] Dr. Mirza's comment that the poet did his best in this work on account of "the prospect of a high reward,"[29] however, is neither correct, nor justified. As a matter of fact, he was not paid for singing praises of his mother-land and speaking highly of the cultural excellence of India and the Indian people and he did all this, in fact, at a great risk. The poet's inherent, almost instinctive, love and affection for the land of his birth has bestowed such an unprecedented grace and charm upon this work; in this work his genius as *Ṭūṭī-i-Hind* has found the most spontaneous expression.

The Tughluq-Nāmah : is his last historical Mat͟hnawī. It narrates such events as the assassination of Mubarak Shah by Khusro Khan Parwārī (720/1320); latter's usurpation of the kingship; battle between Khusro Khan and Ghiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and the former's defeat; accession of Tughluq Shāh and beheading of Khusro Khan and his associates, etc. It is a plain narrative, comparatively dry and dreary, and almost devoid of that charm which is the predominant characteristic of the *NS*.

The Khamsa : Khusrau's five poems : *Maṭla-ul-Anwār* (698/1298-99), *Shīrīn-o-Khusrau* (698/1298-99), *Majnūn-o-Leylā* (699/1299-1300),

Āinā-i-Sikandarī (699/1299-1300) and *Hasht-Bihisht* (The Eight Paradises) (701/1301-2) altogether make up his *Khamsa* which he wrote as a replica to Niẓāmī's famous *Khamsa*, former's poems corresponding to the latter's *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*, *Khusrau-o-Shīrīn* *Leylā-o-Majnūn*, *Sikandar-Nāmah* and *Haft-Paikar* respectively. These are Khusrau's artistic imitations of the great master's works. Though these poems contain panegyrics dedicated to Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn (in whose reign the *Khamsa* was composed) and Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā and also casual references to some contemporary events, these are merely literary romances and are almost devoid of historical interest or importance.

Ghazliyāt : Khusrau's Ghazals (lyrics) also constitute an extremely important part of his poetry. He himself made two collections of his Ghazals and appended them to his third and fourth dīwāns. A large number of his beautiful lyrics are also lying scattered among his works and also independently in several mss. Unlike his *Khamsa* in which Khusrau has tried to be classical, his lyrics are written in a wonderfully simple though elegant style. They are original and vigorous, refined and artistic. He was an expert musician and his verses have a beautiful flow and rhythm. His lyrics are "full of a fervent love, a fiery passion capable of both exoteric as well as esoteric interpretation. This, coupled with their peculiar melodiousness, has made his poems extremely popular with the Sūfis who listen to them with rapt attention from the lips of the qawwāls today, as their brethren did in the poet's lifetime;" some poems, "fill our hearts with vague longings, a tender joy or a soft melancholy," while others, "are boisterously joyful, overflowing with the joys of physical life the fair women, the music, the wine the flowers, the pleasant summer rains, the singing birds and the flowing waters"; his "lyrics have a peculiar finesse and subtility of ideas that most of the Persian poets lack. *In fact, I think, this was a characteristic that developed in India* and, except Jāmī in old times and Naẓīrī later on, no other Persian poet can compete with Khusrau in this particular respect, though there have been several Urdu poets" (of course, Ghālib, as for example), "who can. While then one cannot under-rate the value of his other works, it is certain that the lyrics form the most important part of Khusrau's poetry and that his great fame rests more upon their excellence then on anything else",[30] and it is also largely on account of his popular lyrics and Hindi poems that he earned the title : *Ṭūṭī-i-Hind*. These were admired even by such great Persian masters as Sa'dī and Hāfiz.

The I'jāz-i-Khusrawī (or *Rasāil-ul-I'jāz*) is a literary prose work of Amir Khusrau, four of the five chapters of which he compiled in 682/1283 and ultimately completed it in 719/1319. The work is meant to give specimens of elegant prose. He sets and describes nine different styles of prose in this work.

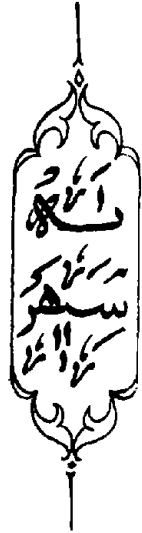
Tārikh-i-'Alāi (or *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ*) : is a short history of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī which was completed in 711/1311. By and large, he records the contemporary events from 695/1295-96 to 711/1311 accurately and the work is of substantial historical importance.

Afḍal-ul-Fawāid : is a short work in which the poet has collected the Sayings of His Pīr, Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā. It is written in imitation of his contemporary Amīr Hasan's larger work *Fawāid-ul-Fuād*. "Its language, extremely simple easy and unadorned by any figures of speech, provides a good specimen of Persian as it was spoken in Khusrau's time."[31]

Khāliq-Bārī : the Authorship of the *Khāliq-Bārī* which is a sort of Persian-Hindi dictionary, consisting of popular words of daily usage, may also be rightly ascribed to Amir Khusrau. It fulfilled a need of the time, of providing a common vocabulary for daily inter-communication between the victor outsiders and the vanquished natives, and a litterateur of Khusrau's calibre and capacity should have easily composed it.

Amir Khusrau also composed verses in Hindi (which he called Hinduī or Hindawī) the language of the masses. He was proficient in its usage and has used a large number of popular Hindi words in his Persian works. In fact, he knew Hindi better than the Arabic and he was tremendously proud of this; thus he said :—

"Turk Hindostānīm man Hinduī goyam Jawāb,
Shakar Misrī na-dāram kaz 'Arab goyam Sukhan"[32]

(I am an Indian Turk and I can give you reply in Hindi; I have Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabia and Arabic). And :—

" Chu man Ṭūṭī-e Hindam rāst Parsī,
Ze man Hinduī pars ta naghaz goyam."

(As I am in fact the Ṭūṭī of India, question me in Hindi so that I may talk (spontaneously and) (sweetly).[33]

Unfortunately, Khusrau never collected his Hindi poems (as he did in case of his Persian lyrics). Dr. Mirza is right when he noted that the poet, probably, scribbled his Hindi verses on bits of paper which he distributed among his friends. Khusrau himself once observed "I have scattered among my friends a few chapters of Hindui poetry also but I would be content here with a mere mention of this fact." [34] Today we have before us only odds and ends, scrappy poems and isolated verses which have been passed on to us through oral tradition. Many of these have, indeed, been interpolated and a large number of later additions have been circulated under his name. But in the huge lot of the Hindi gīts (songs), dohās (couplets), chopades (quatrains), pahelīs (riddles), mukarīs (conundrums) and ghazals (lyrics) which are current by his name, there are some genuine compositions of the great Wizard, as was Khusrau.[35] In fact, he became famous among the masses on account of his Hindi pieces which are still popular in Northern India. Dr. Mirza stated a plain and simple truth when he observed : Khusrau "was, perhaps, the most popular poet of India and his name is known even to the mischievous urchins of Delhi, playing marbles in some narrow alley beside a dirty gutter even today, about seven centuries after his death !!"[36]

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NOTES :

1. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, **The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau** (Calcutta, 1935) (hereafter referred to as the **LW**) p. 21; for the Persian text of this quatrain see ibid p. 21, ftn. 4. For a detailed sketch of Amir Khusrau's life and works, reference may be made to this excellent doctoral thesis of Dr. Mirza.

2. **LW**, p. 22; Persian text, ibid, ftn. 4.

3. Ibid, p. 116.

4. Cf. ibid, p. 116.

5. Cf. Ibid, p. 20.

6. Ibid, p. 31.

7. Cf. Ibid, p. 37, this also shows that 'Imād-ul-Mulk was very popular also among his Hindu subjects. It seems that the relations between the State and the Hindu masses were not as hostile as they have been depicted by Barni and other 'Ulema-historians of the Sultanate period.

8. Cf. Ibid, p. 38.

9. Ibid, p. 53.

10. Ibid, p. 78.

11. Cf. ibid, p. 87.

12. Ibid, p. 117.

13. Ibid, p. 125, **NS**, Introduction p xxii.

14. **NS**, Introduction, p. xvii.

15. For a study of the Inscriptions (Persian text and translation) of the tomb of Amir Khusrau, reference may be made to the **LW**, op. cit.,

pp. 138-39: **A. S. I.** Memoir No. 10, pp. 21-29 and **A. S. I.** Memoir No 47, pp. 26-27.

16. Popularly Khusrau is said to have produced ninetynine (sometimes ninety) works, which is an exaggeration. Dr Muhammad Wahid Mirza closely examined this matter and found a large number of of them, generally ascribed to Khusrau, as later works, or parts of larger works titled independently erroneously (Cf. **LW**, pp. 140-52) Dr Mirza minutely scrutinized each and every work and, finally, gave a list of about 20 absolutely genuine works of the poet. For the enumeration of Khusrau's Works, as also for his Life and Career, I have largely drawn on Dr. Mirza's excellent thesis, the **LW**, op. cit.

17. *Ibid, p.* 162

18. Cf. ibid, p. 160.

19. Ibid, pp. 180-81.

20. **NS**, Introduction, p. xxvii.

21. Ibid, p xxii.

22. **NS**, Sipihr-I, cf. ibid, p. xxii; **LW**, p. 125.

23. **LW**, p. 172.

24. Ibid, p. 172, ftn. 5, Dr. Mirza's note reads : " Shubh yaqīnast', which shows that the charge was not quite baseless "

25. This shows that he was being actually persecuted and as noted previously he was in real trouble.

26. **LW**, p. 172.

27. Ibid, p. 189.

28. Ibid, p. 189.

29. Ibid, p. 189

30. Ibid, pp. 206-7. it is noteworthy that the fame of the most renowned Urdu poet Ghālib almost entirely rests on his Urdu Ghazals

which he himself did not consider worth comparison to his Persian compositions and thought very insignificantly of them. It is a pity that his Persian verses have now been forgotten ! Literary classicism has hardly *anything to do with popularity and, curiously*, it is mostly through the latter that Posterity knows a poet !!

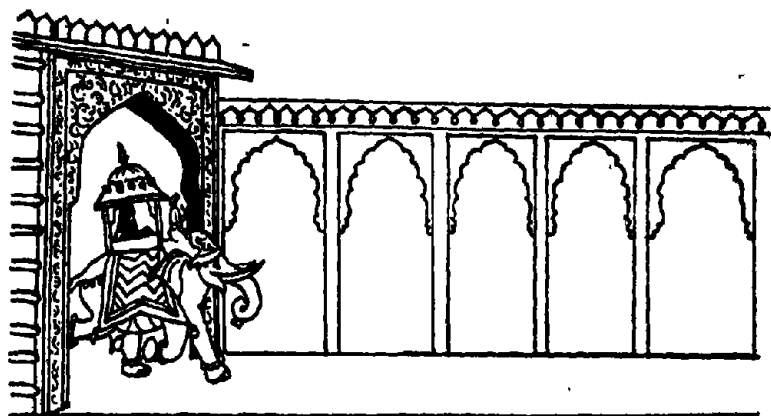
31. Ibid, p. 225.

32. Cf. Ibid, pp. 34 and 228.

33. Ibid, pp. 35 and 228; for details of this popular subject Ayaz Ahmed s paper 'Amir Khusrau ' The Tuti-i-Hind' **Indo-Iranica** Calcutta, Vol. XXIV Nos. 3-4 (Sept-Dec 1971) pp, 83-96 may be referred to

34 Cf .Ibid, p. 228.

35 For a study of Khusrau s Hindi poems, reference may be made to Ayaz Ahmed s paper, op cit.

36 **LW**, p 146.

1

Khusrau's Introduction To India

NS, p 147* *Khusrau's third chapter (Sipihr) corresponds to the Seventh Sky.[1] Its presiding planet is Saturn (Zuhl). The title of this chapter itself is very interesting. Khusrau begins by proclaiming that herein follows the description of the Seventh Sky, the palace of which is as high as the Sky itself[2] The meaning of its letters are so subtle that it appears that Jupiter (Mushtari) itself is born of Saturn (Zuhl)[3]; in other words, wisdom has followed from it. Though the letters of this chapter are black in appearance, as is the Planet on the face of it, as a matter of fact, they are meaningful. This is the most important chapter of this great Mathnawi of the poet.*

NS, p. 147 (1) This is the sky which is third from above (i. e. from Arsh) and seventh from below more where the orbit of the moon is situated.

(2) I have displayed it as ornamentally as I presume the second chapter[4] to have been done.

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*These page-numbers refer to Dr. Muhammad Wahid Mirza's edition of the **Nuh-Sipihr** (Persian text) (Calcutta, 1950).

(3) Though the presiding planet of the Seventh Sky, and the third chapter of this work, is Saturn which is considered to be ominous, here it has become auspicious.

(4) It is because of the fact that India's dominating planet is Saturn since the very beginning of the creation; hence I have derived the inspiration of India's greatness from Saturn.[5]

NS, p 14B (5) If my heart helps me, I shall raise as many subtle points from this verse as the planet Saturn may award. They would, in fact, be countless.

(6) I shall so charm the planet Saturn as to bring it down to Earth and I shall present the wealth of Islam[6] to Him.

(7) Being wonder-struck by this living magic, I believe, he (Saturn) would testify to the Creed of Islam.

(8) Rum, Khurasan and Khotan[7] claim that they are far superior to this land (India) in cultural accomplishments.

(9) But as I possess some knowledge of this land, I am inclined to assert the efficacy of its magic[8] (and show that India is better than these countries).

(10) If God pleases to bestow upon me the gift, my pen may be so empowered as to express the qualities of this land, to perfection.

(11) I aspire that I should not leave the greatness of this land on earth (concealed and unknown) but raise it to the height of the Heaven.

(12) One who has already received all admiration does not need any more. Obviously, a beautiful person does not require any make-up (as beauty is already her inherent characteristic).

(13) But praise becomes an art when it turns the sound of a musical instrument into the ringing of caravan bells (that leads the Caravan) and, hence, assumes a value of its own.

(14) Medicine, philosophy, Logic, Arts and Sciences as they exist in India carry an altogether deeper meaning.[9]

NS, p 149

(15) The country of Tilang was conquered and Harpal who was as inauspicious as the Saturn was killed.[10]

(16) I mention this event because the importance of this page of History is of no less magnitude than the Seventh Sky.

NS, p 149

(17) I have adopted a unique method in the composition of this poem. I have filled the rhythm and rhyme of this poem with jewels [11]

(18) Ninty couplets of this work have a very beautiful rhyme of their own and, in fact, most of them carry a rhythm which has been very dexterously composed.[12]

(19) My art is not limited to the poetic skill of a few designed rhythms, but this work is full of such standard gems.[13]

(20) Who else except me can ride at such a fast pace (in this realm of poetry) and who can recite the story in the metre and the theme which I have adopted? None else, of course.[14]

(21) Anybody can ride a donkey in the desert but nobody can make a dent into a dense.

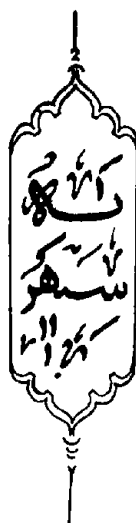
(22) I have myself invented this new rhyme and I have myself embedded it with pearls.

(23) One, who is learned and just, will appreciate it; one who is envious and jealous will condemn it.

(24) When the art and charm of my poetry became known to the world, I could neither derive any benefit from it, nor I had to suffer any loss.[15]

NS p 150

(25) I aspire to create a magical world of poesy for the sake of India, my country.

(26) My description of India will be faultless and far better than that

of both Iraqs (Iraq-i-Arab and Iraq-i-Ajam), Khurasan and Khita.

MS: p. 156 (27) If my adversary taunts me as to why do I prefer India over all other countries,

(28) I would offer two reasons which are responsible for this (preference).

(29) The first reason is that, since times immemorial, this land has been destined to be the land of my birth and shelter and my motherland (watan, मातृ भूमि).[16]

(30) And this is the Saying of the Prophet Haḍrat Muḥammad (i. e. this is a Hadith) which is part of our Creed[17] that the love of Motherland is certainly an essential part of the True Faith.[18]

(31) I have fixed up a place for myself; if you have your motherland (watan) you may also adopt it.[19]

(32) The second reason (of my preference for India) is that the Pole of world (Quṭb-e-Zamān) viz. Haḍrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā[20] belongs to this land and, as such, it has become the centre of world's attraction.

(33) Though technically it may appear to be unlawful,[21] I have used this expression for the sake of expediency.

(34) I have submitted my apologies in full,[22] now please look at it from the standpoint of its bewitching art and lucid expression.

NOTES :

1. Khusrau has divided the work into nine chapters (Siplhrs), his first chapter corresponding to the top-most, and the ninth, Sky; second to the Eighth Sky and so on, in a descending order. Each chapter is dedicated to a planet which is the presiding star of the respective Sky; thus first to Falak'ul-Aflāk (Arsh); second to the Signs of Zodiac (Buruj, राशियां); third to Saturn (Zuhl, शनि); fourth to Jupiter (Mushtari, बृहस्पति); fifth to Mars (Mirrīkh, मगल); sixth to the Sun (Shums, सूर्य); seventh to Venus (Zuhra, शुक्र); eighth to Mercury (Atārad, बुद्ध); and ninth to Moon (Qamar, चन्द्र). This shows how deeply Astronomy went into literary compositions of the early 14th century and, in fact, played a vital role in the life of the medieval people. See Table vide **Appendix-A** for the arrangement of Khusrau's chapters in accordance with the skies and presiding planets.

2. To use hyperboles in their expression was the usual style of the medieval poets. It must always be born in mind that this Mat͟hnawi is an excellent piece of Literature, over and above anything else.

3. Jupiter is the presiding planet of Khusrau's fourth chapter which follows, hence the idea of succession.

4. I. e the preceding chapter, Sipihr – II.

5. In other words, I have included the description of India and its marvels in this chapter which corresponds the Seventh Sky dedicated to Saturn, on account of its being the dominating planet of India.

6. Literally Islam means a religion of Peace and Submission to God's will.

7. These countries were renowned for their prosperity and grandeur during the medieval period. Hafiz's famous couplet :—

Agar ān Turk-i-Shīrāzī
bi-dast ārad dil-i-mārā
Bi-Khal-i-Hinduwash bakhsham
Samarqand-u-Bukhārā rā.

(If that unkindly Shirazi Turk would take my heart within her hand, I will give Bukhara and Samarqand for the black mole upon her cheek !), may be referred to in this connection. It is noteworthy that Khusrau does not mention 'Iran' as such, though he has alluded to 'Khurasan' which was part of Iran. Nor he has mentioned 'Iran' in his later narrative Iran, as such, was not there and was divided into several parts Its main centres of culture, e. g. Khurasan and Ray have been mentioned by Khusrau. See the accompanying Map for an idea of the medieval countries and their names.

8. In order to counter the claim of Rum, Khurasan and Khotan for superiority.

9. That is that the standard of these studies is higher in India than any where else Technically, 'Hikmat' does not mean medicine only, but much more, it is knowledge, tact, skill, understanding etc. It comprises of a large number of sciences, medicine out of which is the most indicative. 'Dānāi' is that branch of 'Ilm' which is related to knowledge and under-standing, hence our term 'philosophy'. Similarly,- 'Burhān' has been translated as 'Logic' and 'Hunar' as 'Arts' —all of which are specially developed branches of Indian learning. Attempt has been made to convey the real intention of the poet for the selection of these words. The learned editor of the **NS** Dr Mohammad Wahid Mirza also had the same objective in view when he preferred to retain 'Burhān' instead of 'Ilm' given in the H. M. S. Collection ms. which would have been better and more suitable in the metre.

10. The allusion is to the reconquest of Deogiri by Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh in 1318. Its prince Harpal Deva was captured and flayed alive. A little later Khusrau Khan, the Commander of his Deccan forces and a pet noble, captured Warangal and reduced the country of Tilang. Khusrau has described Harpal s defeat, capture and death in detail in the **NS**,, pp. 195, 200-201.

11 This is true. Khusrau has adopted an unusual metre in this Mathnawi and this is his own invention.

12 Though it appears to be boastful, in view of the uniqueness of this work, the poet's claim is not the least exaggerated.

13. Khusrau has used the word 'Sikkā' which would normally be translated as 'Coins'. But 'Gems' is certainly a better word to convey the poet s real meaning,

14. Thereby he means that the work is technically superb.

15. How he sould deny to have been benefitted by his poetic talent, to which, in fact, he owed his position and status ? Khusrau means

to say that those who appreciate his work have not given him any monetary benefit, nor the latter have caused him any loss.

16. We adopt ज़मीन given in the Lytton Library Aligarh and Mohd. Shafi s mss. instead of ज़मीं preferred by the Editor. This is an extremely interesting couplet which depicts Khusrau's love of his motherland and also, probably, his belief in the doctrine of incarnation. He might have hinted that he was born in this country over and over again in different lives, and he might have derived inspiration of this belief from the great Persian ṣūfī poet Maulānā Rum who exclaimed :—

Haft-sad—haftād qālib deedā-am
Ham-chu Subzā bārahā ruidā-am.

(I have seen sevenhundred and seventy forms, Yonis, of existence and I have grown, again and again, like grass).

17. And hence a sanctified scripture in which we repose our faith; Hadith are sayings of the Prophet which were compiled, authenticated and finally adopted by several scholars like Bukhari and Muslim.

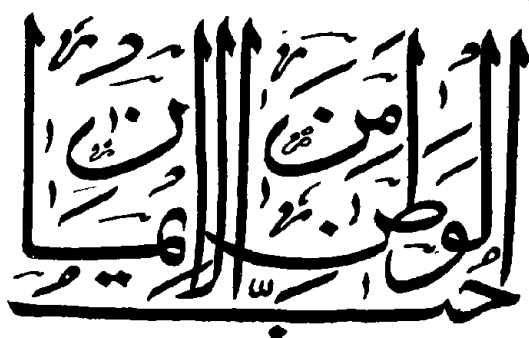
18 We adopt दर जु मरह़ of the Aligarh ms in preference to काये जु मरह़ used by the Editor This is again an important expression of Khusrau which shows that Khusrau was a Patriot to the core His reference is to the Hadith : "HUBBUL WATAN MINAL—IMAN" (Love of Motherland is an essential part of 'Imān' = True Faith). In other words, to love Motherland is to lay faith in god. Patriotism is the essence of Faith, hence his dictum : "Patriotism is the most Sacred Duty" to which he adheres throughout his narrative

19. i e. "I have dedicated myself to the service of my country and I sing its praises. Donot grudge me O my adversary, you may also do this for your own Motherland". It is, in fact, Khusrau s repudiation, firstly, of **Pan-Arabism** which ruled out national aspirations and, secondly, conventional themes of Persian poetry which called upon Persian poets to compose on old subjects, themes and metres. Khusrau s was indeed a grand innovation in this respect.

20. Haḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā was a great ṣufī saint of the Chishtiya order and a disciple of Bābā Farīd Ganj-Shakar. He was

fourth in line of the great Indian Chishtia saints (Khwājah Moinu'd-Dīn of Ajmer, Khwājah Quṭb Sāhib of Delhi and Bābā Farīd of Pakpattan preceding). Khusrau was an ardent disciple of Sheikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā. There was great affection between them. For a brief life-sketch of the saint, see **Appendix-B**.

21. This is meaningful. Khusrau apprehends that his claiming India to be the centre of the world's attraction may impart it the importance of the K'abah which is, in fact, the centre of the world's attraction, for Hajj pilgrimage. This would not be acceptable to orthodox. Hence Khusrau's explanation. But the expression has been made alright It leaves us guessing whether it was Khusrau's experiment in Nationalism Of course, he was very well aware of his precarious position in the early 14th century and he exercised caution to avoid confrontation with the more numerous sections of the Muslim society. In any case, it gives an idea of Khusrau's deep sense of Patriotism.

22. With respect to the selection of the subject-matter of this poem.

2

On India : The Paradise

"*Evidence in support of the argument that India is Paradise itself. This argument stands sustained intellectually.*"

(1) The Indian Continent is Paradise on Earth and you can just find the argument in favour of this statement on its facing page. [1] **NS, p. 151**

(2) This is undoubtedly a substantial argument, in support of which I shall advance, not one, but seven points (to prove India's superiority over other countries).

(3) First is that it was in this Paradise that Ādam found repose (panāh) after he was banished from Heaven and was tired under the burden of his sin.

(4) He had taken the grain of wheat which was forbidden.[2] Look ! how it became the root-cause of his sin.

(5) Unaware, he was thrown down ruthlessly from Heaven to the Earth, as a punishment (of this sin).

(6) As the chastity of God was his guardian, the stones of mountains upon which he fell became soft like silk.

(7) It was to India that Ādam came from Heaven. As he was a flower of Paradise, who was struck by autumnal wind, it was only to a garden that he could be despatched.

(8) Had he been despatched to Khurasan or Arabia or China, he would have availed of the earth only for a short while.[3]

NS, p. 152 (9) The Summers and Winters of Khurasan and Arabia, as also of Ray and China, are singularly tortuous (and unbearable).

(10) As Ādam was brought up in Paradise, it was necessary to send him to a similar climate.[4]

(11) Because India had the climate where he could have lived, it is amply proved that it is like the greatest Paradise.

(12) As India was just like Heaven, Ādam could descend here and find repose.

(13) Otherwise, as he was so mild and tender, had he fallen in some other country, he would have been harmed.

(14) Now I put up the second argument by citing the example of Peacock, the Bird of Paradise. This intelligent argument would be thoroughly convincing.

(15) Peacock is the Bird of Paradise and it can live only in Paradise. If India is not Paradise, why was it made the abode of Peacock, the Bird of Paradise ?[5]

(16) Had India not been the Paradise, Peacock, the Bird of Paradise (would not have been found here and it) would have adopted some other garden as its Home.

(17) Had Paradise been in some other country, Peacock would have definitely gone there.

(18) **As India was similar to Paradise, Peacock (the Bird of Paradise could live here and it) did not go anywhere else.[6]** **NS. p. 163**

(19) If you are still in doubt, my third argument is that the serpent also belonged to the Heavenly Garden (Paradise).

(20) Mythologically, it is said that Serpent accompanied Peocock into Heaven.[7]

(21) But Serpent did not belong to India because it had an un-Indian habit of stinging.

(22) In fact, Serpent did not belong to Heaven (as it had forced its entry into it by strategem) and, hence, it does not belong to India.[8]

(23) As Serpent was a habitual offender, it, deservedly, got a place into the ground (i.e. underneath it).

(24) On the surface of this country, viz. India, where a hundred things originated for the comforts of life. this harmful serpent does not fit in (Hence it has been allotted a place into the ground).

(25) Although here are a large number of snakes in this land, they live inside the ground and do not love to remain outside.

(26) My fourth point of argument is related to Ādam's journey outside India.

(27) (No doubt, he put his foot outside India but) he did this because of his extreme longing for Eve and because no remedy was available for the agony of separation which tormented him.

(28) He travelled for two or three days but he could not find anything to eat until he reached the borders of Sham (Syria). **NS. p. 164**

(29) The delicacies of Paradise which he had in his stomach gradually melted down.

(30) The seas and mountains were formed out of his easements.

(31) The town Ghotah in the desert of Damascus came into being from it, and people know it as such since those times.

(32) Although it was something Heavenly, it was not allowed to fall in India.

(33) So it happened because India is another Paradise (and such acts are not allowed in Paradise) and it would have been bad if it had fallen here.[9]

(34) Were India not Paradise, how that burden was considered an impropriety within the bounds of India ?[10]

(35) My fifth point of argument is well-known and everybody is conscious of it.

(36) Pleasures, enjoyments and good climate are also available in the city of Damascus and it also looks like a Paradise.

(37) Wisemen, however, observe that, in view of this factor, Paradise is situated somewhere near it, either below or above it (and it is not Paradise itself).

NS. p. 155 (38) As Ādam came from India, the pleasant breezes which have given Damascus the appearance of Paradise also come from India, which is a Paradise.[11]

(39) (If somebody raises the doubt, why then Ādam did not settle in India, I would say) Ādam did not like to settle in India without Eve.

(40) The men of wisdom have ultimately found the source of pleasures of the new land (viz. Damascus) which is India.

(41) It was the effect of Ghotah that Ādam chose to shed those delicacies of Paradise there.[12]

(42) I urge upon you also to follow this Heavenly procedure.[13]

(43) It was only this way that Ghotah became a pleasant and enjoyable place and looked like Paradise.

(44) when Ādam descended from Paradise, the fragrance of Heavenly wine and fruits was fresh upon his lips.

(45) He came to India fresh with the Pleasures and delicacies of Heaven and yet he found this country and its climate perfectly enjoyable (without any difference).[14]

(46) The scent of Paradise which came with him was fresh, pleasant and envigorating.

(47) How stimulating were the soil and flowers of this land for physical pleasure and mental solace ! MS. p. 158

(48) The special feature of India's beauty is that its flowers blossom the year round and they are all fragrant.[15]

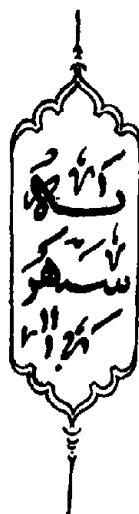
(49) India is not like Ray or Rum where fragrant flowers do not grow except for two or three months.

(50) Even during that period (i.e. during the spring season) roses and poppies which grow there have no fragrance. Otherwise it is all dull due to snowfall and hailstorms.

(51) My sixth argument is based on the Saying of the Prophet (Hadith) which has been fully authenticated.

(52) The Prophet (Haḍrat Muḥammad) said that we do not believe in the worldly pleasures. We shall get reward of our good deeds in the Heaven. Worldly pleasures are meant for infidels only.

(53) India was a Paradise for the unbeliever since the advent of Ādam (on earth) till the inception of Islam.

(54) Even in recent times, these atheists[16] have every pleasure of Heaven such as wine and honey.

(55) If people suffer with hardships, sorrows and privations, it is because they have faith in the blessings of Heaven.[17]

(56) Those who are at present enjoying worldly pleasures, because of their idol-worship they will go to hell and these pleasures would turn into hardships.

NS, p. 157 (57) Thus, in my humble opinion it is proved in all respects that India on account of its beauties and excellences is Paradise.[18]

(58) Now I put up my seventh argument which is strong and meaningful, and beset like a pearl.

(59) A Musalman who adheres to Truth as long as there is life in him,

(60) For him, this world is like a prison even though, on account of his good deeds, he belongs to Heaven inherently.

(61) But India has such a different atmosphere that here he feels the pleasant effect of Paradise (and it is not a Prison for Musalman).

(62) Because of this special feature, India is deemed to be a Paradise.

(63) That pleasant breeze and enjoyable atmospheric effect are not due to the Garden of Heaven but it is due to the graciousness of our Khalīfah.[19]

(64) It is all due to the graciousness of the Pole of the World, viz. the King, Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, that such a beautiful greenery is spread under the sky.[20]

(65) The world became as beautiful as was the face of Shāh Mubārak. In other words, the world owes its graceful appearance to the personality of this King.[21]

(66) May God bless Sulṭān Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh to Immortality because the world has become an eternal Paradise owing to his just and benevolent reign.

NOTES :

1. Probably, Khusrau refers here to the fertile lands of the Punjab and Kashmir which a traveller from the west first meets with as soon as he enters India.

2 He indulged in Sex-affair This is how the primitive instinct has been symbolically alluded to in the Western scriptures.

3 I e he could not have survived and the world would not have been inhabited by mankind The poet thus asserts that India, and not Arabia, is the cradle of humanity.

4 And he could not have lived in the countries aforesaid In other words he could have lived only in a similar environment with a pleasant climate Here Khusrau has, mildly, deprecated Arabia on account of its tortuous climate

5 It is noteworthy that though Peacock has been mentioned in Christian, Jewish and Islamic mythologies as the Bird of Paradise, it is found only in India and nowhere else.

6. It seems that the medieval people were fond of repetitions and had an immeasurable wealth of vocabulary to put up the same statement in different words !

7 Hanafis are the followers of Imām Abu Hanīfā, also called Imām-i Azam. He was founder of one of the four codes of Muslim jurisprudence, the other three being Imām Hanbal, Imām Shafa'i and Imām Malik, Hanafis follow the rules prescribed by him The allusion is to famous story of Adam and Eve and their banishment from Paradise on being misled by Satan who got into the Garden with Peacock in the form of a serpent.

8. This is Khusrau s art of argumentation This point related to serpent however, is not so convincing as is the preceding one related to peacock.

9. In other words, Adam went out of India when he wanted to ease himself and he did not ease in India because it is also a Paradise where it is not allowed. Though it appears to be vulgar, and

amounts to ridicule other Muslim countries when compared to India, it is Khusrau's bold step in the direction of his argument in favour of India, to counter the overwhelming moves of the 'Ulema who only knew to advocate 'Pan-Arabism'.

10 This is another way of putting up the same argument : Why Adam did not let this burden fall on this land and went out of India to the other country for this purpose ? It is because India is Paradise and such acts are not allowed in Paradise.

11. In other words, Khusrau asserts, the world also knows where the Heavenly breezes blow from, it is the same direction from where Adam had come, viz. India. Khusrau alludes here to the Prophet's saying (Hadith) that very often he felt cool breezes blowing from the direction of India. It is surprising that the Prophet too specifically mentioned India and no other country, not even Iran ! Khusrau obviously had this Hadith in mind when he made this statement.

12. Khusrau, in fact, observes, almost contemptuously, that inherently this place is such that Adam found it fit only for sheding .those delicacies of Paradise

13. This shows how medievel people were free to express their views without the slightest restraints. Here, however, the humble translators are aware of their limitations.

14. An alternate reading of this couplet (preferred by Mr. Faiyaz Gwaliari) is as follows : "He came first to India from that Wonderland. The Heavenly fragrance of pleasure and enjoyment which was fresh upon his lips found a congenial atmosphere in this land and set a breeze of gaiety blowing."

15 i. e. in no other country such a large number of beautiful fragrant flowers grow, in no other country they grow in all seasons.

16. Here Khusrau refers to those who do not believe in God

17. In other words, they are Musalman who believe in the world beyond, more than this world.

18 The poet's argument is not clear Probably the allusion is to the Hindus and the Musalmans who live in India, the former enjoying Heavenly pleasures on earth while the latter reposing faith in the pleasures of the world to come. In any case, Heavenly pleasures are available here though the Musalmans abstain from them on account ot their religious faith.

19. Here Khusrau has changed the theme of his narrative. So far he was admiring India, now he starts eulogizing the Sulṭān, Mubārak Shāh at whose behest he composed this work. To sing praises of the ruling monarch was a fashion of the medieval people and Khusrau was no exception. Noteworthy in this connection is his use of rhe word 'Khalīfah'. Roughly, it means representative or successor. Adam was thus the first Khalīfah of God. But here it is more meaningful than usual The allusion, obviously, is to Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh s repudiation of the idea of Khilāfat. There could be only one Khalīfah, successor of the Prophet, to be the temporal and religious head of the whole Islamic world. But Mubārak Shāh dropped all reference to the Khalīfa, in Khutba and in coins, and proclaimed his own sovereignty. He assumed the title of 'Khalīfah' and declared himself to be 'Al Imām ul Azam, Khalīfah Rab ul Almīn' (The Mighty Imām of the world, the Khalīfah of the God of Heaven and Earth) and 'Khalīfah-Allāh' (Representative of God on Earth), as his coins testify (Cf Edward Thomas, '**The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi**'. London, 1871, pp. 179-83, Coins Nos. 142-143 and 145-153) His capital Delhi was raised to the status of 'Hadrat Dār ul-Khilāfat' August Seat of the Khalīfah of the World)

   The point whether it was a random and off-hand act of a vain, arrogant and cynic despot and whether it was intellectually reinforced has been examined in detail in **Appendix-E** entitled 'Khusrau s Vindication of Indian Sovereignty' given at the end of the book. In fact, it was an extremely bold experiment in Nationalism. For details of this matter reference may also be made to R Nath s paper Genesis of Amir Khusrau's Eulogy of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, (**Indica** Bombay, Vol. 15 No 1 (March 1978). and 'Amir Khusrau's Experiment in Nationalism' INDO-IRANICA Calcutta Vol. 31 Nos. 1-2 March-June 1978. For a study of the concept of 'Khalīfah in the Islamic polity, R Nath's paper Mughal Concept of Sovereignty (as revealed) in the Inscriptions at Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and Delhi (1570-1654)' published in the **Indica** Bombay Vol. XI No 2 (September, 1974) may be referred to.

20. Medieval eulogists generally conferred extraordinary divine powers upon their patrons. They could perform any miracle and no phenomenon was impossible to them. Khusrau also remarks, by the way, that such lush vegetation is nowhere else, as nowhere is such a ruler as Mubārak Shāh !

21. This too is an excessive admiration of a patron. But medieval eulogies knew no bounds.

3

Aspects of India's Superiority

NS, p 158 "Reasons of my preference for India to Rum, Iraq, Khurasan and Qandahar."

NS, p. 158 (1) I have already proved India to be Paradise. Now I proceed to describe its climate.

(2) As far as climate is concerned, I can put ten irrefutable arguments to show that India's climate is better than Khurasan, in all respects.

(3) My first point is that in India cold winds do not cause any harm to people.

(4) A person who wears a single cloth remains warm like a lion and he does not need any other cloak to cover him.[1]

(5) It is not like Khurasan where (due to bitter cold) they use warm clothes of ten layers[2] lest their body gets frozen.

(6) My second point of argument is that those who passed through Khurasan[3] were adversely affected by its excessive cold.

(7) They (the people of Khurasan) are sometimes so deafened (by excessive cold) that they do not listen to the argument[4] that India is Paradise and, instead, accuse India of possessing an extremely hot climate.

(8) In reply, I shall (again) cite the Saying of the Prophet (Hadith) which unequivocally asserts that cool breezes blow from the direction of India.[5]

NS: p 159 (9) The hot season of India is only slightly trouble-some, whereas the excessive cold (of Khurasan) may kill the people.

(10) My third point is that even poor people of India are not greedy and are satisfied with whatever meagre they get.

(11) They do not run after wealth and they are contented with a blanket only.[6]

(12) The Hindu peasant spends the night in the Pasture-land, grazing a single animal, only with a worn-out sheet of cloth.[7]

(13) The Brahman takes his bath into the cold water of the river in the early hours of the dawn.[8]

(14) In fact, the hot season does not torment the poor people of India; the shade of a branch of tree near their house is enough.

(15) My fourth point is that on account of abundance of greenery and flowers, there is spring season in India all the year round, with wine and flowers.

(16) But in Khurasan flowers last only for two or three weeks. They appear for a few fleeting moments like flood-water overflowing a bridge.

(17) The fifth argument is this that the flowers of Khurasan are only good-looking, they have no fragrance like our flowers.

NS p. 160 (18) The sixth argument is that the flowers of India retain fragrance even after they are dried up. But the flowers of Khurasan, when dried, do not give any smell at all.

(19) Our flowers even after they are dried up, contain a tiny vessel of fragrance like musk, i. e they still give good smell.

(20) My seventh argument is that among the juicy fruits, only guavas and grapes are found in Khurasan.

(21) My rejoinder to this is that we have Mango, Banana and Sugar-cane (which are not found in Khurasan).[9]

(22) Only a few dry fruits can be compared with Ilaichi (Cardamom), Camphor and Lavang (Cloves) of India.

(23) The eighth argument is that a number of fruits are found in India which are not grown anywhere else.

(24) The ninth argument is that two rare delicacies are not found anywhere else except India.

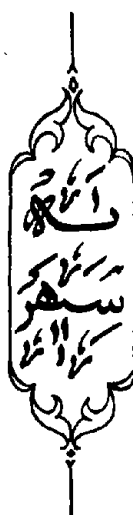
(25) One is an extremely soft fruit (without any hard substance in it) which has no parallel in the world. The other is a leaf which is taken like a fruit.

(26) The soft fruit is Banana and the leaf, I speak of, is Betel-leaf which is a marvellous accopaniment of food.

(27) The tenth argument is that there is nothing in the world like a good Betel-leaf

NS, p. 181

(28) The common people have no taste in it. Only the nobles and their sons relish it.

(29) Its special preparation is not meant for everyone but only for the King who is the axis of the Sky (Qutb-i-Falak).

NOTES :

1. Such is indeed the climate of India for nearly eight months.

2. I. e. they put on a large number of woollen clothes

3. Or those who lived in this country

4. This is a novel way of putting up an argument

5. This has already been discussed above, Cf Note No 11 of Chapter-II

6. Khusrau has presented a true picture of the character of the Indian people. As they deem Fate to be the decisive factor, by and large, they are a contented people, devoted to their religion It is only recently that this view of life has changed, much to the erosion of the positive values Unlike Khusrau's contemporaries, the average modern Indian is a money-oriented individual !

7. It shows his indefatigable forbearance in the face of sheer hardships of life

8. So much devoted to his religion and rituals he is that even the bitter coldness of the early morning cannot deter him from taking bath

9. And for that matter in any other Islamic country which Khusrau has specifically mentioned, e. g Rum, Khurasan, Rayy, Syria and Iraq.

4

About Learning of The Brahmans

"Preference of Indians to Non-Arabs[1] in respect of Knowledge, Learning and Mental Illumination". MS. p. 181

(1) It has been proved that, from the point of view of climate, India with all its luxurious growth, is representative of Paradise.

(2) Although I reckon India next to Paradise, it is superior to the whole world.[2]

(3) I may be slightly biased in favour of my country,[3] yet whatever I shall submit, I shall justify.

(4) Though there are men of letters in other countries, nowhere is Wisdom or Philosophy better written than India.

(5) First I shall take up this subject (on Indian Learning); others will be dealt with afterwards.

(6) If you cannot repose faith in my argument, do not think I am talking irrelevantly (and do not misunderstand me). Try to grasp its meaning. MS. p. 182

(7) You must know that these simple-looking expressions of mine are full of incalculable wisdom and meaning.

(8) No doubt, the learning of Rum is widely admired, and it is well-known to the world.

(9) But India is not devoid of this wealth, as philosophic concepts of an excellent order abound here.

(10) Logic, Astrology, Poetry and other branches of learning, except Fiqāh (Islamic Law), are found in India.

(11) As Fiqāh is related to the religion of Islam (and it does not originally belong to this land) it is not found in India.

(12) All other rational sciences, except Fiqāh, are based on old concepts (which had originated in India).

(13) The Brahman of India is such a learned man that, as far as knowledge and learning are concerned, he has far excelled Aristotle.[4]

(14) All Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Geography which are here for the past and the future alike, originated in India.

(15) The Brahmans of India have greater wealth of philosophical thought than what Rumi had revealed to the World.[5]

KS, p. 163 (16) As nobody has tried to learn from the Brahmans, their learning has not been revealed (to the world).

(17) I have done a bit of search in this matter and, fater winning their confidence, I have gained some insight into their secrets of learning.

(18) Whatever I could grasp from them has not been contradicted from any quarter, so far.

(19) As some matters appear to be impossible, mediocres shun it (the learning of the Brahmans).

(20) The men of knowledge do not speak much, because they know the secrets of olden times and they keep reserved.

(21) Only God is the repository of all knowledge. Wisdom is limited and wisemen, therefore, feel humble.[6]

(22) As the Brahmans remain silent (out of humility) and do not speak eloquently of their learning, the philosophers of the world are at a loss to understand them.

(23) The people generally do not understand them (The Brahmans) and think that they beat about the bush and make flimsy arguments.

(24) But there are some people who, though they consider the Hindus as non-believers, are surprised at their wisdom.

(25) The believers do not generally acknowledge their virtues and qualities, as I do.

(26) The Hindus are Pan-theist who believe in God's eternal phenomenon and in His power to create out of non-existence.[7]

NS, p 184

(27) They believe that God feeds all whether wise or unwise, and it is He who grants full length of life to every animal.[8]

(28) God is the Creator of Virtue and Vice and His laws are eternal. He sustains the Universe.[9]

(29) God is all-powerful and every action in this world emanates from His Will. He is omnisient and knows everything in the entirety of Time and Space.

(30) The Hindus definitely believe in these (philosophical) dicta; they are not like those who adhere to untruth.

(31) The Hindus are among those good people who believe in God.[10]

(32) The unbelievers (atheists) are those who do not believe in the existence of God. The Brahman is not an unbeliever as he admits His existence.

(33) Some believe in two Realities (Duality, 'Dvaita'). But the Brahmans believe only in One Reality (viz. God). They also do not deny God as the ultimate cause of creation.

(34) The Christians believe in the Trinity.[11] But the Hindus repose no faith in it (i.e. they are Pan-theist).

MS, p 166 (35) Some people worship physical embodiments of God. But the Brahmans never professed like that.[12]

(36) The worshippers of stars believe in Seven Gods. The Hindus who believe in the Unity of Being deny this.

(37) Some people who admit four elements (viz. Fire, Earth, Water and Wind) believe in four gods. But the Hindus define it as phenomena of One and the same Reality.

(38) One class of people worship God in various forms. But the Hindus believe only in one Reality behind this plurality.

(39) There is another class of people who have faith in the Light and Darkness aspect of God. But the Hindus do not concur with them.

(40) The Brahmans hold that God is pure Truth and inimitable Reality.

(41) No doubt, they worship stone, cattle (e. g. cow) the Sun and plants (e g. Tulsi = Basil) sincerely or formally.

(42) But they take all these things to be creation of God and they hold that there is a divine spirit in them.[13]

(43) They go by the spirit of this worship (which is directed towards God). In fact, they worship God through these instruments (yantras).

(44) They repose faith in them (and worship them) because they have inherited this custom from their ancestors.[14]

(45) They cannot discard the customs of their forefathers. Darkness cannot become light by itself.

NS, p. 166

(46) I cite this reference to Ancestors to support my argument in India's favour.

(47) In order that you may not have an iota of doubt, I shall put up ten arguments (in support of my preference to Indian Wisdom and Learning).

(48) My first point is that there is inestimable learning ('Ilm) in every rook and corner of India.

(49) It is unfortunate that people outside India are not aware of its arts and sciences.

(50) My second point is that the people of India speak different languages.

(51) But the people outside India cannot speak in Indian dialects.

(52) The people of Khita (Chinese Turkistan), Mongols,[15] Turks and Arabs are unable to speak Indian languages.

(53) But we can speak any language of the world as fluently and effectively as a shepherd tends his sheep.

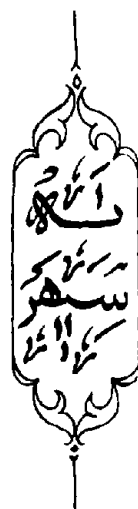
(54) Our mastery over the languages is as assertive as is our capacity to conquer other lands.

(55) But, no country has the courage to look at us aggressively.

NS, p 167

(56) They[16] are barbarous. We are far advanced intellectually and culturally.

(57) My third argument is based on Wisdom. It is irrefutable and wisemen will accept it.

(58) Scholars come to India from all over the world, to learn its arts and sciences.

(59) But Brahman never went out of India to acquire knowledge. He did not consider it necessary to go out to improve upon his worth of learning or to seek judgement on it.[17]

(60) It is well known that a great scholar like Abu Ma'asir visited India.

(61) He was like a star from Heavens and there was none comparable to him on Earth.

(62) He came to India and resided in the ancient city of Banares for ten years to acquire Knowledge (from the Brahmans).

(63) He learnt Astrology so proficiently that he excelled all others.

(64) I believe, there is nobody who could have acquired so much knowledge as he did, though other scholars have also tried it at length.

NS, p 168 (65) Whatever he has written, it is with the ink of India. That is, it is all due to the knowledge he acquired in India.[18]

(66) My fourth argument is with regard to Mathematics (Hindsā). The scholars of the world had not known this science before it originated in India.

(67) Even if Wisdom makes a detour of the whole world, it will not come across such a unique science as 'Hindsā'.

(68) Take Zero, for example. It is a blank mark in itself. But when it is used along with something else, may be a line (i. e. indicating figure 1), it becomes so meaningful.[19]

(69) When the science of (Indian) Mathematics developed, Geometry and the Book of Mijisti[20] came into being.

(70) The Mathematics, its calculations and figures, if they are not based on Indian system are Zero (i. e. useless).

(71) The scholars of the world have not been able to add anything to it (Hindsā) and it has remained unchanged since its origin.

(72) The inventor of this science was a Brahman named Asā. There is no doubt in it.

(73) From his name, this numerical science came to be known as *Hind-Asā*, and later in a short form as *HINDSĀ*.

(74) Thus this branch of knowledge was invented by a Brahman and, strange as it may seem, even the Greeks who were famous for their knowledge and learning have borrowed it from India.

(75) The whole world uses the figures of one (1) and Zero (0) which are the basis of Indian Mathematics.

NS, p. 188

(76) Scholars of various branches of knowledge have all sought help from Indian Mathematics (Hindsā). Therefore, they are disciples of that Brahman.

(77) Scholars of the world are disciples of that Brahman. But that Brahman was never a disciple of anybody (any outsider) and he never learnt his science from anyone.

(78) Now I shall put up my fifth argument to convince those who challenge me.

(79) In the *Dimnā-Kalīlā (Panca-Tantra)*,[21] which is also an ancient work of India, there is only conversation of animals and birds.

(80) Had there not been an excellent flight of imagination in this work, the world would not have acknowledged its merit.

(81) Because it is such a marvellous and meaningful work, it has been translated into Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Darī.[22]

(82) This book was written in India and other languages have only borrowed it, in their own way.

(83) Can there be a better Book of Wisdom than the *Dimnā-Kalīlā* ? The scholars of the world derive inspiration from it.

(84) My sixth argument is with regard to the game of Chess which mitigates anxieties and provides a pleasant pastime.

NS, p. 170 (85) Chess is a unique contribution of India to the world. It is a wonderful art which has countless moves.

(86) Had it been in any other country (on account of its novelty) a special place would have been assigned to its experts (but in India, it is everywhere a popular pastime and no specific importance is given to them)

(87) Every Chess-piece (Muhrā) of this game has its own pace and role assigned to it, which the people can hardly grasp and command.

(88) Quite a large number of people have tried to grasp its technique and acquire command of this game but nobody could find its scope and limits.[23]

(89) People of the world have tried and failed, and they agree that it is not possible to get complete command of this art.

(90) Foreigners have tried to outdo India in this game but they could not compete and, humbly, they had to confess their inferiority.

(91) My seventh argument is that these three arts, namely Mathematics, the Book of *Dimnā-Kalīlā* and Chess (which originated in India),

(92) Have become popular adornments in every respectable household in the world.[24]

(93) The whole world is being benefitted by these pleasant arts of India.

(94) My eighth argument is that Indian Music is overwhelmingly moving. We put the fire of our heart and soul in it.

(95) It is known to everybody in the world that there is nothing like Indian Music (it is par-excellence). NS, p 171

(96) Truly, musicians have come to India and they introduced some new features to it.[25]

(97) They learnt Indian Music and lent tempo to it.

(98) In fact, they became proficient in this Art and made their own contribution to it.

(99) But this was possible only after they stayed in India for more than 30 and 40 years.

(100) However, the foreigners could not add anything to the basic principles of Indian Music.

(101) My ninth argument is that our Music is so sweet that it captivates wild deer (and attracts it) even in the face of the hunter's arrow.[26]

(102) When wild deer hears the sound of sweet music, it stands hypnotized by its effect.

(103) When the Hindu musician finds the deer standing helplessly hypnotized, out of compassion he bids him to move away.

(104) But the deer is struck by the charm of Music and is so completely lost that it cannot move.

(105) The deer is pierced (and wounded) not by bow-and-arrow, but by the musical performance. Thus wounded, he lays down his life.[27] NS, p. 172

(106) You may cite the example of Arabia[28] where a camel speeds up his pace with the sound of music (and claim that Arabian music also has effect on animals).

(107) But these are two different phenomena which I shall explain to you if you can do justice to it.

(108) (I submit that in the latter case) the camel remains in its senses and paces faster, whereas the deer (in the former case) becomes senseless, to the point of death.[29]

(109) My tenth argument is that no wizard in the art of poetry like Khusrau (himself) exists under the Sun.[30]

(110) Because Khusrau belong to India and he is an admirer of the King, the Pole-Star of the world (viz. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh) who patronises him (Khusrau).

(111) Even if Jupiter, who is the wisest of the Heavenly beings, comes down from the Sky, he would also not raise any doubt (to this statement of mine) and will acknowledge its truth.

NOTES :

1. Khusrau has used the word 'Ajam' to denote non-Arab nations, e. g. Iran and Turan. He does not want to include Arabs in this comparison for his obvious reverence for them.

2. Khusrau uses the words *'from horizon to horizon'* to give emphasis to his statement. Of course, he includes Arabia in this estimate.

3. What an honest realization on the part of the poet ! This shows that he would be equally honest in his statements. It is noteworthy that he composed so eloquently in praise of his country and also in praise of the Hindus in an age, and under a regime, which did not permit it. His hyperbolic eulogies of the ruling Sulṭān may be justified, as the latter was his patron. But he was not paid for singing praises of India, much less of the Hindus. Moreover, by venturing to do so in the second decade of the 14th century A. D., he was only exposing himself to the onslaughts of the orthodox 'Ulema who would not spare even such a great saint as Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā. This was indeed a marvellous feat of Khusrau.

4. Literally, poet asserts that the Brahman has set at nought the learned precepts of Aristotle. The present translators have given greater emphasis on the spirit of the passage, rather than on its literal meaning.

5. Maulānā Rumī was a great Persian poet and a ṣufī philosopher. His admirers inscribed the following couplet on his work which they entitled '**Mathnawi Maulana Rumi**' :–

   ' Mat̲h̲nawī-e Maulavī-e Mānavī,
   Hast Qurān dar zubān-e Pahalvī. '

   (This Mat̲h̲nawī of Maulāna Rumī has so deep meaning, i. e. it is full of philosophical thought of such a high order, that it is almost a **Quran** in the Pehlavi, i e. Persian language). In view of the great learning of the Maulānā, there is hardly any exaggeration in this statement

6. Hence the Brahmans of India speak only a little and do not propagate their learning as others do. It is indeed commendatory that

Khusrau could feel so sympathetically for them in the early 14th century A. D.

7. Thus Khusrau asserts that they cannot be unbeliever because they believe in One God. He further takes up, for discussion, the main doctrines of the Hindu thought.

8. i. e. He is the source of the world.

9. This shows that Khusrau had occasion to study the **Bhagwad-Gita** *and a few Upanisads.*

10. Thus Khusrau reassures that the Hindus are believers.

11 Viz. God, the Spirit (Gabriel) and Jesus Christ (Son of God).

12. The Bhakti cult which established the concept of a Personal God and made popular the incarnations of Ram and Krishna, set in after Khusrau All Nirguna Bhaktas like Kabir and Nanak and Saguna Bhaktas like Chaitanya, Ballabh and Tulsi belonged to 15th-16th centuries It seems that these 'avtars' had not been installed as such by the time Khusrau composed his work Ram, for example was known as 'Purusottam rather than God himself. Khusrau's allusion is of great historical importance for the study of the evolution of medieval religious thought.

13 Again the emphasis is on the doctrine of Unity in Plurality.

14. In other words, the Hindus worship stones and plants because their forefathers had also been worshipping them and this was their ancient custom.

15. Khusrau uses the word 'Mughal' which was then used for the Mongols.

16. Khusrau here alludes, probably, to the Mongols.

17. This is an apt commentary of an Indian of the early medieval period on his modern countrymen who now value foreign degrees to the point of adoration and look towards west for inspiration and guidance in their pursuit of Arts, Literatures and Sciences **Intellectual Superiority** was the strongest point of Khusrau s Nationalism; **Intellectual Slavery** is our Nationalism's weakest point today !

18. It may also mean, alternatively, that whatever he wrote he did it during his stay in India.

19. And it adds to the value of the figure which it accompanies, in tenfold order. Thus when it is used with 1 it becomes 10 and if another zero is used, it becomes 100 and so on. Zero is thus a wonderful figure. Khusrau stresses that this was invented in India.

20. Ptolemy's work is entitled '**Almagest**'. It was most popular with the Arabs who named it **Al-Majisti** (The Greatest). It was curious that this work was translated in Sanskrit in the beginning of the 18th century at Jaipur by Pt. Jagannath at the behest of Sawai Raja Jaisingh who was a great astronomer. He built five astronomical observatories in India, viz. at Jaipur, Banares, Mathura, Ujjain and Delhi and revived Indian Astronomy.

21. **Panca-Tantra** (so-called because it is divided into five books) is, a grand work of Conduct (nīti) It was composed by Viṣṇu Sarmā around the 4th century A D. It is a marvellous book of Wisdom. It was translated into Pehlavi by the order of King Khusrau Anushirwan (531-79) of ancient Iran. Its Syriac version was entitled **Kalilag-Damnag**, the Arabic translation **Kalilah-Dimnah** and Persian **Kalilah-va-Dimnah** on the names of its two principal characters (jackals) Karataka and Damanaka. It has irony, satire and humour on the one hand while on the other, it exposes the human vices particularly hypocrisy and avarice of Brahmans, intriguing character of courtiers and faithlessness of women It became famous in the Orient on account of its intrinsic merit and was translated almost into all languages.

22. One of the seven dialects of the Persian language It developed in a mountain—valley (durrā) and hence came to be known as Durrī or simply Darī. Darī developed for common usage in Iran as Urdu developed in India. It is also called 'Zabān-i-Dargāh-i-Salatin'. Seven branches of Persian are **Pehlavi, Farsi, Dehravi, Zavli, Sakzi, Saghdi** and **Dari**

23. In other words, nobody could acquire mastery over this game.

24 These have become popular pastimes of the world.

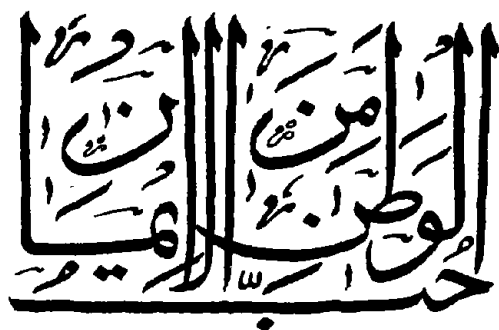
25. Khusrau himself was an accomplished musician and invented a number of Rāgas and Rāginīs

26. Though in the face of grave danger when sheer animal instincts guide it, a deer must flee to safety But due to the effect of Music, it is attracted to the performer.

27. Khusrau plays with the words ingeniously. The deer is not wounded by the arrow of the hunter but by the arrow of the musician (mijrāb by which he plays his instrument).

28. *Generally Khusrau has not referred to Arabia in this narrative, though he has frequently* named Rum, Khotan, Rayy, Iraqs, Khita and Syria and most frequently Khurasan Here, however, he could not help mentioning it on account of the unquestionable superiority of Indian Music over all other systems of the world.

29 In other words, the Arabian Music only accelerates feelings but Indian Music captivates and hypnotizes and its effect is far superb than that of the Arabian Music. Here Khusrau has analysed the difference of the effect of the two systems.

30. Self-praise was also a fashion in medieval times when there were no printing press, newspapers, radios and other means of publicity.

5

About Excellence of The Indian Languages

NS, p. 172 "*Points of superiority of Indian languages to Turkish and Persian with regard to the beauty of their words*".

NS, p. 172 (1) I have established India's superiority in the sphere of Knowledge and Learning. Now I will proceed to describe the beauty of Indian languages.

(2) (These languages are such that) I have also learnt and gained something from the common languages of the peasants (of India).

NS, p. 173 (3) I know it, I understand it, I can speak it and on inquiry I have been, to some extent, enlightened by it.

(4) The Arabic language has some fixed and set rules and it has a grammar and system of usage, lest the people commit mistakes.

(5) These rules are not formal or merely based on custom, but they have to be regularly observed for reading religious books like the *Quran* and other books of sciences.

(6) Scholars have compiled dictionaries and rules of grammar also in the Turkish language.

(7) This was done, at places, just for the official purpose (as Turkish was the language of the ruling elite).

(8) This is because some officers of the army and nobles have fascination for Turkish and use it for formal official business.

(9) (But) no scientific study of the languages of the people of Turkistan, Rum and Darra, viz. the Turkish, as regards its growth and development, has been done by them, as we have done.

(10) The Arabic language is well known all over the world for its beauty.

(11) Everybody has gained something from the Arabic. The scholars of the Arabic are not confined to one place only, they are found all over the world.[1]

(12) The Persian, though it is a sweet language, did not have a grammar of its own.

NS, p. 174 (13) If I wish, I can frame a set of rules of the Persian for my usage.

(14) But the scholars of the Persian do not need such a grammar. Though I would be opening a way to those who do not know it (my endeavour shall not be worthwhile).

(15) Because Persian is well known and people speak it fluently, my attempt to write its grammar will be a thankless job.

(16) It shall not be worthwhile if I exert myself in preparing its grammar when the people do not feel its need.

(17) Therefore, even if I feel like it, it is not necessary that I should compile its grammer and make a show of my vast knowledge of the Persian.

(18) I feel that I should not take the trouble for this small matter.

(19) If the people are not agreeable to have it, why should I exert myself on this venture.

(20) Even if such an ordinary item as Masoor (lintil pulse) is produced by a farmer, this will have a ready market.[2]

(21) If the people are not inclined to accept even jewels, then jewels are not worth two grains of barley and are useless.

(22) The worth of a commodity depends upon its purchasers. If there is no demand, it is worthless.[3]

(23) Three languages are valued like pearls on the face of the earth. NS, p. 175

(24) Each of these three languages has originated from a place of its own but they, these three languages, have spread all over the world.

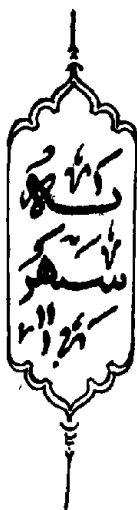
(25) First is the Arabic which originated in Arabia and became the language of the world.

(26) People of the East and the West are bound by this language[4] and it is the language of the scholars.

(27) The Arabic is the language of the vast tract of land from Yemen to Ta'iz.[5]

(28) It also has an honourable place in other non-Arab countries, about which there is no doubt.

(29) Only the commoners like grass-cutters cannot be benefitted by the Arabic language, because they have no capacity for it.

(30) It is such a deep language that unless one's heart bleeds through the point of his pen, he cannot read two or three pages of the Arabic.

(31) Unless one works hard for a lifetime to acquire proficiency in its speech, he cannot ably and correctly read even a single leaf of the Arabic.

(32) It is not because he is dull or fool but because one should possess extraordinary enlightenment and stamina to learn the Arabic.

NS, p 178 (33) Next comes the Persian of the Persian people. It is a very sweet language with its centre around Shiraz.[6]

(34) The Persian spread from there and became a repository of learning of the world. It shone over every city like moon.[7]

(35) Next comes Turkī which was the language of the Turks of Ataz and of the Tribes of Qanqalī, Auyaghar, Īratī and Ghuzz.

(36) It originated in the plains of Khafchāq (Qipchāq) and Yamak. Thence it spread to other countries, like the salt of India.

(37) Though other languages (of the world) are also very beautiful, they are neither so sweet nor so enlightening (as are the Arabic, Persian and Turki).

(38) They are limited within the boundaries of their own land and they have not spread out.

(39) Now I shall relate as to why these two or three languages remained only spoken languages.

(40) Before the *Quran* was revealed to the Prophet in the Arabic, this language was also confined to Arabia.

NS, p. 177 (41) It did not spread out because the people outside Arabia were not aware of its inherent wealth and charms.

(42) We also know from reliable sources that this eloquent and beautiful language,

(43) was suitable only for the last Prophet (Hadrat Muhammad) as a unique ring needs a priceless pearl.[8]

(44) After the Prophet's departure from the world, Arabic became the language of everybody.[9]

(45) After the Arabic, we take Persian which is reckoned to be a great language. It is next only to Arabic.

(46) The Persian became popular in the non-Arab countries. It was the language of such mighty kings as Qibād (Kaiqūbād), Kai (Kaikhusro) and Jām (Jamshed).

(47) The Persian originally belongs to Astakhar in the land of the Kyān Emperors, which is also the original home of the Persians.

(48) They spoke the Darī language. Gradually it became the language of all those who resided there and those who passed through that land.

(49) It spread all around and became popular. It became the language of the higher classes as well as the commoners.

(50) It is an old custom that whatever is adopted by the kings, is followed by the people.[10] (People generally follow the ways and practices of the kings).

(51) When a saying of the king becomes popular in the land, it spreads throughout the world.

NS, p 178

(52) Take for example Baghdad where the Persian language was also spoken at places (along with the Arabic).

(53) It became capital of the Khalīfahs (viz. the Dār'ul-Khilāfat). The Persians acquired wealth and held influential position there.

(54) The laws of this Arab land were, then, written in the Persian and it became the language of the masses, to initiate them into etiquette.

(55) The city, which was later called 'Baghdad' in the Arabic, was originally called 'Bāgchā-e-Dād' (The Garden of Justice) which is a Persian word.

(56) The Turkish language also became famous owing to the same reason. It spread with the Turkish rule on earth.

(57) As prominent people (e.g. nobility) under the Turkish rule adopted the Turkish, the commoners also adopted it and it became popular in the world.

(58) The same applies to spoken languages in India. Hindawī has been the spoken language of India since olden times.

(59) The Ghorides and the Turks came to this land. They spoke the Persian.

(60) When people came in contact with them, they also acquired workable knowledge of the Persian.

NS, p. 179 (61) The local dialects were confined to their own areas.

(62) Because the people received no formal education at all, whatever wrong or right they spoke was alright.

(63) The Arabic developed and spread with the *Quran*. But it could not assume classical character in some regions.

(64) Whatever it is, one feature is common to all other languages, that is, each one has a taste of its own.

(65) Somebody claims his language to be the best, while the other thinks his own to be better than others.

(66) Everybody is proud of his own language and does not admit superiority of any other one.

(67) It shall be improper on my part to talk of Persian, Turkish and Arabic and beguile myself of their virtues.

(68) One should talk of his own country. As I belong to India, it is only befitting (that I also talk of the things Indian).

(69) There is a different language in every corner of this land with its own system and technique.

(70) Sindhī, Lāhorī, Kashmīrī, Kubrī (?), Dhur-Samundrī, Tilangī, Gūjar,

(71) Ma'abrī, Ghourī (?), Bengālī, Oudhi, Dehlī[11] and around it, within the boundaries of this land are the languages of India.

NS, p. 180

(72) All these are Hindawī languages (languages of India) since olden times and they are spoken by the people at large.

(73) There is yet another language which is the best of all. It is the language of the Brahmans.

(74) It is known as the Sanskrit since ancient times. Common people do not know its usage.

(75) Only the Brahmans know this language, But every Brahman cannot claim to have mastered it.

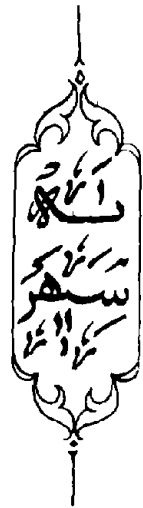
(76) Like the Arabic, the Sanskrit also has its grammar, definitions, system, technique and rules, and literature.

(77) They have four religious books (in India). Their whole life is determined by the precepts of these four books.[12]

(78) They are four Vedas which are well-known works. As the doctor treats all, everybody is benefitted by them.

(79) Everybody who is related to Literature or Art derives inspiration from these works.

(80) These four Vedas are source of all learning.

(81) The Vedas are written in the Sanskrit which is the language of the Brahmans. They have learnt all arts and sciences from its (Vedic) literature.

NS, p. 181

(82) This language (Sanskrit) is a pearl among pearls. It may be inferior to Arabic but it is decidedly superior to the best of the Persian, viz. Darī.

(83) Although Darī is also a sweet language, the literary excellence of the Sanskrit is in no way inferior to that of Darī.

(84) One, who has gone to the depth of this language (Sanskrit), cannot make a mistake in this respect.

(85) Had I been able to acquire sufficient command of this language, I would have praised my King (Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh) even in this language.

(86) Our King is the Pole of the Earth (Quṭb-i-Zamīn). His throne is as high as the Pole of the sky (Quṭb-i-Falak).

NOTES :

1. The Arabic spread with the religion of Islam. Its book the **Quran**, is in the Arabic and the latter also assumed a sacred character from the former.

2. Things of common use, e. g. Masoor are generally in demand. But my work will not be received by the people.

3. Couplets Nos. 15 to 22 are not related to the main subject. Khusrau first proposes to compile a grammar of the Persian and then submits arguments for his not taking up this work. All this was hardly needed in the context of this chapter

4. The Holy **Quran** is written in the Arabic. It assumed a sacred character and it spread, with the religion of Islam, in the East and the West. Khusrau's indication is in this direction

5. Ta'iz seems to be the capital of Tunisia on the northern coast of Africa.

6. The Persian is famous for its sweetness There is the Persian saying ·

   " Arabī ilm-ast, Turkī hunar-ast,
   Fārsi shakar-ast, bāqī az goze-khar ast. "

   Arabic is knowledge and learning, Turki is Art, Persian is sweet, all other languages are bad and worth nothing.

7. In other words, it gave light to every city.

8. Haḍrat Muḥammad is called the Khātim'ul-Mursalīn (= last of the prophets) 'Khātim' means 'ring' and also the 'last.' Khusrau has used it cleverly to give two meanings

9. The Holy book **Quran** was written in the Arabic. Certainly it owes its spread to the whole Muslim world to Islam.

10. Probably Khusrau had the following Arabic saying in mind when he composed this couplet : "**Annaso aladdine muluke-him**" (People generally follow the religion of their kings).

11. Probably, Khusrau means Punjābī by Lāhorī, Kannad by Dhur-Sumundrī, Telugu by Tilangī, Gujarātī by Gujar, Tāmil by Ma'abārī, Awadhī by Oudh and Hindawī by Delhī. He does not mention Marāthī as such.

12. Viz. the Four Vedas (Ṛgveda, Yajuraveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda). We adopt यद of Hafiz Mahmud Sherani collection ms. instead of the textual बद ।

6

Wonderful Birds and Animals of India

"*Evidence in support of the fact that animals (and birds) of India have such an intelligent instinct that you may take them as rational as human beings*" NS, p. 181

(1) I invite your attention to my arguments in this respect (that animals and birds of India are intelligent and capable of performing wonderful feats). NS, p. 181

(2) My point to draw your attention is to elucidate the nature of the animals and birds of India.

(3) These animals have a (wonderful) sense which can be proved on the basis of ten arguments.

(4) My first point is that if you try to investigate, you will discover a bird which can speak like human beings. NS, p. 182

(5) The Tūtī[1] (Parrot) of this country is not like other birds. (As far as speech is concerned) it is close to human beings.

(6) It talks like human beings and repeats (exactly) whatever it hears.[2]

(7) It can read the verses of the *Quran* and can offer Prayer to God as it is taught. It can talk to us as we talk among ourselves.

(8) There is another wonderful bird, called Shārak,[3] in India that is neither found in Arabia nor in Ajam countries (Iran, Turkey etc).

(9) It speaks more distinctly and fluently than Tūtī.[4] There is no obstacle in its speech (as it is in the case of parrot).

(10) It is a bird that can pronounce distinctly and correctly. There is no ambiguity in its speech.

(11) My second point is that (in India) we can teach the birds to obey our verbal orders what to do and what not to do.

(12) It is a novel and wonderful skill of the people of this country (that they can teach the birds to act according to their orders) which is rarely found outside India.

(13) My third point is that men (of this country) learn the language of the birds and understand their behaviour like an art.

NS, p. 183 (14) Several works have been written about the language of crow (as for example), as to how its croak, on different occasions, denotes different meanings.

(15) When it flies high singing aloud, or when it flies down with a noise,

(16) Or when it rubs its beak against the earth, or when it eats a piece of meat while flying,

(17) Or when it eats while sitting on the branch of a green tree, or perched on an old branch, every sound that it produces on each of such occasions has a different meaning.

(18) Many experiments have been done in this respect and most of them have been proved unequivocally correct.

(19) My fourth point is that there is a black bird (skylark) in India. Many wonderful things are attributed to it.

(20) The way it moves, flies, hops, chatters and eats each act denotes a different hidden meaning.

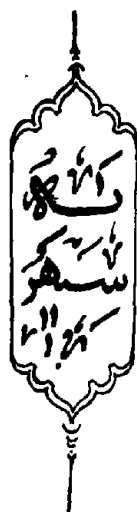
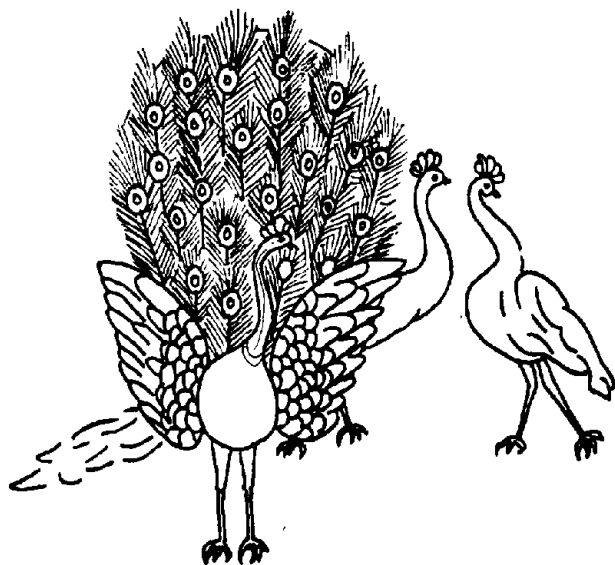
(21) It is a small bird which is shot at by Tufak[5] clay-balls. It looks very wonderful when it soars high in the sky.

(22) Many works have been written on experiences of birds and their behaviour.

(23) My fifth point is that there are many other birds in India which are also full of mysteries and arts.

(24) Their different acts as chattering, running and flying have been interpreted to produce different effects. NS, p. 184

(25) I am very brief because if I start narrating about every bird of India, it will cover more than twelve volumes.

(26) My sixth point is that it is also in India that such a rare and beautiful bird as Peacock is found.

(27) Its tail is about three yards long which almost sweeps the ground. A thousand mirrors shine from its tail.

(28) A single mirror duplicates the beauty of a bride. Here a thousand beauties are reflected in the mirrors of peacock's tail.

(29) It forms a canopy of its tail over it (while dancing) and is lost in its unique wealth of ornaments. Thus it displays its beauty.

(30) It also has a golden crown over its head. It is so beautiful that even the Bird of Solomon (Hudhud = wood-pecker) is wonder-struck.

(31) Although Hudhud (wood-pecker) also has a crown over its head, it is, at the most, equal to cock (that also has a beautiful head-gear).[6]

(32) Crown is there on the head of Peacock only (because it is there at the crown of its head). Hudhud and cock wear only a cap as a sign of honour (and this cap cannot be called crown).

(33) Though Peacock has a beautiful body, its feet are black so as to keep off evil eye.

NS, p. 185 (34) This feature is like socks of costly black skin (Kīmukht) which kicks away the evil eye.

(35) Even if the bird charkh (or chargh) (a beautiful bird of prey) tries hard to compete with Peacock in respect of the crown, it shall be utterly futile.

(36) Everybody knows that no bird like Peacock exists anywhere in the world

(37) My seventh point is very well known in India and is no news

(38) When the male peacock is sexually excited, it does not copulate like duck or ant or fly (in the usual way).

(39) It displays its beauty (by dancing) like beautiful women and two or three peahens stand fascinated by its dance.

(40) It showers pearls from its eyes, every one of which is picked up by peahens with their beaks.

(41) When a pea-hen swallows that essence of the peacock, she conceives.

(42) Where else in the world such a wonderful bird as Peacock can be seen, the semen of which is passed through its eyes?

(43) Hail to Khidr[7] who drinks the water of life (Āb-i-Hayāt) from the fountain of an eye.

(44) This is a unique feature of this land. If you do not believe it, come to India and verify the truth yourself. NS, p. 186

(45) My eighth point is that, within the boundaries of India, there is an entertainment which gives relief even to the most disgusted person.[8]

(46) A Shārak (Mainā), a Tūtī and a Baghulā are let loose in a cage.

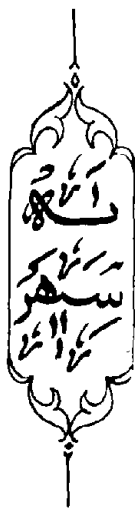
(47) Baghulā is an Indian bird. The Persians have not given it a new name.

(48) A small clay vessel (Khumrah-gill) is placed in front of the Baghulā. All the three birds are attracted to it.

(49) Tūtī, that is an adept in talking, then speaks in Hindī —'Yake kodā badah ?', give one seed of Kodon (minor millet).

(50) Shārak, that can also speak fluently, then says .—'Yes, yes, give a seed of kodon to it. Let us see what does it do with it.'

(51) When a seed of kodon is dropped before them, the Baghulā snatches it away and hides it beneath the clay-vessel.

(52) Whosoever watches this game is struck by the intelligent behaviour of these birds and (also) of the skill of their trainer.

(53) My ninth point is that I have seen another strange thing which happens in the regions of Lakhnauti (Bengal) and Bahroza (?).

MS, p 187 (54) This is that there is a water-drawer (suqqā) bird. It is put in a cage with one small bucket (dol) tied with a string and a small clay-vessel with water in it.[9]

(55) The bird draws the string of the bucket by its beak till it comes out full of water.

(56) The strange thing (of this game) is that the bird keeps on pressing under its claw the loose string as it draws on and on.[10]

(57) As soon as the bucket comes out, the bird drinks water from it and again leaves it loose into the vessel.

(58) It is wonderful that a bird exerts itself so intelligently for water, and that too as skilfully as a human being.[11]

(59) My tenth point is that two mutually hostile animals (viz. cat and pigeon) are put together in the same place by the skilful trainer.

(60) I have seen it myself and many others are also witness to this scene that they are confined in the same house.

(61) (It is strange that) the greedy cat looks after the pigeon in that lonely place as carefully as an honest and trustworthy man keeps the trust money secure with him.

(62) The pigeon jumps playfully over her and pricks her head and eyes by its beak (thus pigeon plays with cat).

(63) The cat sits quietly almost as if it is wooden and lifeless, unmindful of the pigeon's kicks.

(64) If, by chance, some other cat happens to come there, it growls and tries to pounce upon the pigeon. **NS, p. 188**

(65) But the latter cat cannot dare to come near the pigeon because of the former (cat).

(66) I inquired how these two deadly hostile animals are brought together so amicably.

(67) It was replied that this was all due to the Justice of our Great King.

(68) He, our King, is the Qutb-i-do-Ālam (Pole of both the worlds) by the fear of whose justice wolf does not prey on a lamb.[12]

(69) When I look at animals of this earth, my experience shows that,

(70) It is the effect of the goodness of the people. Such good persons are in abundance in India.

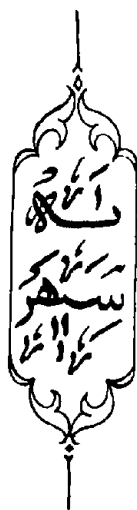
(71) I have put up many arguments (about the strange feats of some birds of India). I have to submit five more arguments in this respect.

(72) The first point is that the wisemen of India can interpret various actions of other animals and deduce different meanings therefrom.

(73) As for example, the pacing of deer and its effects and the howling of jackals in low or high pitch and its different effects are interpreted by them.

(74) A wise Hindu interprets actions (of the animals) in a way which, if not wholly true, is close to truth. **NS, p 189**

(75) I had very little knowledge of these animals and birds (and I have learnt from them).

(76) Now I have experienced how the spirits convey new messages to the peasants.

NS, p. 188 (77) I have seen such a large number of mysteries that if I write them, two volumes would be covered.

(78) But as it is prohibited in our religion, I withhold myself from talking about such unnatural things.

(79) The seeond point is that some other animals also perform feats like human beings.

(80) Horse kicks the earth differently with different meaning. Monkey differentiates between Dāng and Daram (Dirham).

(81) Goat stands on a wooden stick on its four hooves, put together. It moves its tail on the rhythm of the song which is sung to it (by the trainer).

(82) The third point is that animals are trained to act like human beings.[13]

(83) The fourth point is that in the land of India monkey is a wonderful animal.

NS, p. 190

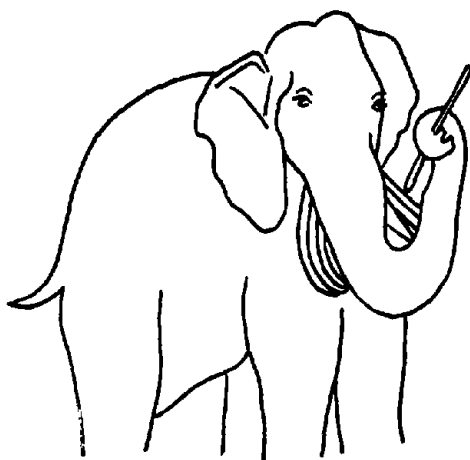
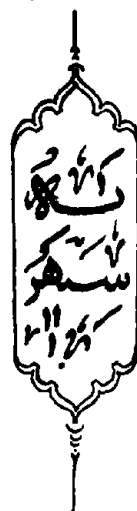
(84) Not only does he resemble human beings, but he also behaves like men. He uses his hands and legs like human beings.

(85) When monkey is trained intelligently, his understanding develops to such an extent that he learns to obey orders and act, as directed.

(86) He is a mixture of man and animal but he is not as courageous as are other animals.

(87) A wiseman, after studying (the behaviour of) monkey, has commented that he is an intelligent animal and an incomplete man.

(88) This animal (monkey) is better than a bad man who behaves like animal.[14]

(89) The fifth point is regarding Elephant who is, of course, an animal. He obeys more the commands of man than monkey.[15]

(90) Though physically he is a bulky and strong animal as he is, he is more intelligent than other animals.

(91) He obeys your orders and is anxious to know your mind and act according to your wishes.

(92) He picks up needle from the ground. (He is so particular in obeying orders that) if you give him a morsel[16] and bid him not to eat it, he will preserve it as a trustee (in his mouth).

(93) He has great sense of discrimination between good and bad. He has many human qualities, except that he cannot talk.

NS, p. 181 (94) Like man, he lives for more than 120 years. Like man, he sits on his knees.

(95) His ailments are treated by the same medicines which are given to man. He is entirely attached to his trainer.

(96) If I recount all his qualities, a detailed volume (with commentary) would be written on this subject.

(97) Though this land (India) is adorned by big ones (animals), there is none bigger than elephant.

(98) He does not only look big physically, but he is also big otherwise (i. e. on merits too).

(99) He is an ornament of the courts of the kings, specifically he is adorning the gate of (the palace of) the King of the world (Shāh Jehān) (viz. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh).

(100) The Crown of our King, Lord and Pole of the world, is so honorific that elephant is fit to adorn only his gate and of none else.[17]

NOTES :

1. Tuṭī is a typical Iranian bird. It is small and beautiful with a sharp and shrill sound. Khusrau is using 'Tuṭī' here obviously for 'Indian Parrot' (Sanskrit : suka शुक).

2. Literally, it repeats whatever is put into i's mouth.

3. Khusrau's 'Shārak' is obviously a rendering of the Sanskirt 'Sārikā' (सारिका), that is commonly known as Mainā (मैना). Sanskrit literature is replete with its references. In the **Mahabharata**, in Sabhā-Parva Suka and Sārika are mentioned together :—

   आत्मनो मुखदोषेण बध्यन्ते शुक सारिकाः ।

   Kālidāsa mentioned it in the **Meghaduta** :—

   पृच्छन्ती वा मधुरवचना सारिकां पञ्जरस्थां ।

   (Uttaramegha-25).

   Bāṇa also mentioned it in the **Kadambari** (Uttara-Bhāga, Candrapīḍa-Kathā); he named Suka as Parihāsa and Sārikā as Kālindī. Similarly Suka-Sārikā are mentioned in the **Vaitalapancavimsati** (Third story). In fact, in the Sanskrit literature, these two birds are mentioned mostly together It is noteworthy that Sārikā is not female-Suka, nor Suka is male-Sārikā These are two different species of Indian Parrot which were commonly tamed in the household in ancient India, for their wonderful power to speak like human beings.

4. Here it is used in the sense of 'Indian Parrot'. Khusrau means to emphasize that Shārak nor only repeats like parrot but it also speaks for itself and pronounces the words correctly.

5. 'Tufak' is not gun. Fire-arms were not in vogue in the Age of Khusrau. 'Tufak' was a wooden pipe (probably a long hollow bamboo pipe) through which small, clay balls were fired at small birds by force of air. It was manually operated.

6. In other words, Hudhud cannot be compared with Peacock and the latter is certainly more beautiful a bird.

7. Khiḍr is a Prophet who became immortal by drinking the water of life. Hence Khusrau s reference to him.

8. Instead of हद जालाह् of the text, we are adopting र्गा कि हदे-हिन्द (i. e. within the boundaries of Hind = India) of the Panjab Library ms.

9. It is so arranged that the bucket is suspended into the clay-vessel by the string on a revolving wheel, exactly the way water is drawn from well.

10. This is, indeed, an extremely intelligent behaviour of the bird.

11. It is in fact very strange. These games are no longer in vogue and are forgotten Khusrau s work is an eloquent evidence of the games and pastimes of the early 14th century India

12 Though there is no doubt that impartial justice of the State is always a source of Fear and Respect to the people. Khusrau has cleverly chosen this occasion to eulogize his patron In fact, Mubārak Shāh was not such a just and benevolent ruler as Khusrau wants us to believe. But Khusrau was formally a court-poet and he could not afford to ignore the ruling monarch. To compose eulogies in praise of the king was not only a fashion, it was also a necessity as far as the Poet-laureate was concerned. It is noteworthy that Khusrau was allowed by the King to sing eloquently in praise of India, probably in the face of the resentment of the orthodox sections of the regime, in a work which was composed at his behest and which was dedicated to him.

13. The meaning of this couplet is obscure. If it is taken literally it would be a repetition of what Khusrau has already said, which he would not do. The couplet can also be translated as follows :— The Third point is that men are also trained in this country to speak like animals, i. e to imitate sounds of animals.

14. ई दो of the text is not correct, we take it as ई दद This is Khusrau's excellent commentry on humaniaty, that a bad man who behaves like animal is worse than monkey who behaves like man.

15. He is more intelligent than monkey and is, therefore, more serviceable to man.

16. E. g. of bread.

17. Ins'ead of दुनी of the text, we adopt बली of the Punjab Library ms.

7

On Supernatural Powers of The Hindus

"*Evidence in support of the fact that Indians can revive dead person on the one hand, while on the other they can sacrifice their life as a moth does for its beloved.*[1] "

NS, p. 191

(1) There is a wonderful thing which, in spite of it being strange, is widespread in India. Such a thing has not been mentioned about any other country.

NS, p. 191

(2) If I write it in detail, it shall become a long narrative. Hence I shall recount only part of the popular version.

(3) The first thing is that in this country magicians revive the dead.

NS, p. 192

(4) This needs elucidation with reasons. I, therefore, guide you to the point.

(5) If somebody is bitten by snake and does not rise for a time, he is revived even after a period af six months.

(6) The snake-bitten person is flown in the river towards East at a fast pace like lightening.

(7) When the person reaches in the precincts of Kamroo (Kāmrūp) he is revived there by the power of magic.[2]

(8) The second thing is that the Brahmans know so much of magic and occultism[3] that,

(9) If they recite mantras over the head of a person who had just died, he would be revived.

(10) The revived person can foretell future, provided people are not afraid of him.

(11) This is so because the ghost had not eaten the pulp of his head.[4]

(12) He can talk well if his tongue is alright. If it is decomposed then, of course, you cannot expect him to talk.

NS, p. 183 (13) Another strange feature is that the Indians are capable of extending the age (of human beings) by different means and methods.

(14) It is because everybody has his fixed quota of breaths.

(15) One who acquires control over his breath, he would live longer if he takes less breaths.[5]

(16) The Jogi (Yogi) who suspends his breath through Yoga in a temple, can live, by this feat, for more than fivehundred years.

(17) It is wonderful that they (Indians) can spell out omens by distinguishing between the breaths blowing from the two nostrils.

(18) By a study of the breath flowing by the right or the left nostril, (thus by distinguishing the open and the closed nostril) they can foretell something of the future.

(19) The other thing is that the jogis can send the soul from its own body to another body through their yogic power.

(20) Many such jogis live in Kashmir in the mountains and many of them live in the caves.

(21) There are some others who can assume forms of different animals like wolf, dog and cat.

(22) There is another thing that they can draw out the blood of a person, by their power, and can refill it into the body.

(23) Another strange thing is that they can control the mind of young and old so that the latter think just as they want them to think.[6]

NS, p. 184

(24) Another strange thing is that they can fly in the air like birds, which is incredible.

(25) The other thing is that by the power of their magic, they remain under water but do not sink.

(26) They can sit cross-legged on water and go across the river (in this posture) from one bank to the other.

(27) Another strange thing is that they can control clouds which would rain or not, at their will.

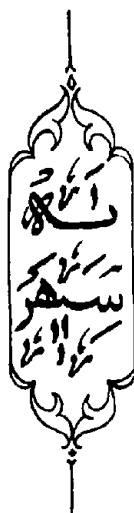
(28) Another thing is that whenever they like they apply a special collyrium in their eyes and nobody can see them.[7]

(29) There are several other strange things like these, which are not known to the people except to those who avail the opportunity to watch these feats.

(30) One who has seen, cannot forget them and the one who has not seen, does not believe them.[8]

(31) Some of these are facts of magic and some are stories, but one thing is there to which you will readily agree.

(32) It is wonderful that a Hindu sacrifices his life for his faith either by sword or by fire.

(33) A Hindu woman burns herself for her husband willingly. A Hindu man sacrifices his life for his deity or his chieftain.

NS, p. 185

(34) Although it is not allowed by the religion of Islam, yet it is a great and noble deed.

(35) Had it been lawful in our religion, good people would have sacrificed their life with pleasure.

(36) Who will not sacrifice his life at the door of our great King who is like Jamshed ?

(37) We have described those things which prove India's superiority to other countries.

(38) The main reason of my preference (of India to other countries) is that Mubārak Shāh is our King.

(39) He is the Pole of the Earth (Quṭb-i-Zamīn) who, like the Pole of the Sky (Quṭb-i-Falak) will rule over here for a long time due to our Prayers.[9]

NOTES :

1. I. e. Sham' a = candle.

2. Kamrup was famous in ancient and medieval times for its magicians. In fact, there were great Tantrics who were said to possess supernatural powers.

3. I. e. Tantras and Mantras.

4. It is generally believed, of course superstitiously, that ghost or some other evil spirit takes possession of the dead body. It is a symbolic way of explaining the things. The couplet simply means that the body had not decomposed, i. e. the man had just died.

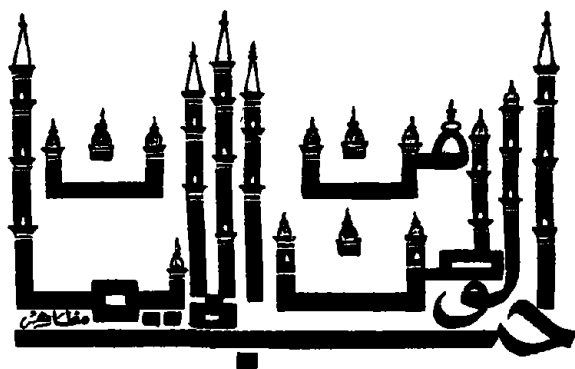
5. In other words, he would spend his fixed quota of breaths for a longer period if he breathes sparingly.

6. Khusrau seems to refer to the various Vaśīkaraṇas and Vājīkaraṇas under the Tantricism.

7. That is, they become invisible. Khusrau wants us to believe these things which are almost incredible. Many are, in fact, popular stories which are in currency even today as they were in the age of Khusrau. There is no doubt, however, that the Yogis were capable of performing miraculous deeds.

8. This is true. Thus Khusrau explains the doubt anybody may raise as to his statements as the present translators have also done in the foregoing note.

9. This chapter (the Third Sipihr) has two other sub-headings hereafter (from page 195 to 210), one dealing with the reduction of Harpal of Deogiri and the other related to the conquest of Tilang. Mostly these are political matters and have, therefore, been omitted. A few couplets on p. 210 and the concluding Ghazal of this chapter (pp. 210-211) are useful in the present context. A translation of these couplets and the Ghazal has been given in **Appendix-C.**

8

On Cultural Excellence of India

(34) How exhilerating is the climate of this country (India) where so many birds sing melodiously. NS, p. 442

(35) Poets, composers and singers rise from this land as abundantly and as naturally as grass.

(36) Most of them are good poets and singers. They know the inner-most secrets of their art and their compositions are full of subtle meanings.

(37) The things which have now been revealed to me, were rarely known to me previously.

(38) Each poet and singer (of India) has his unique way of expression and among them, Khusrau is the humblest.

(39) How great is this land which produces men who deserve to be called men.[1]

NS, p. 442 (40) Intelligence is the natural gift of this land (which no other country possesses) so much so that illiterate persons of this country are also scholars.

(41) There cannot be a better teacher than the way of life of the people and it is this which enlightens the illiterate masses of India. This is a gift of God.

(42) This is very rare in other countries. It is the effect of the cultural environment of this land upon the common people.[2]

(43) The people of India have such an accurate insight, intelligence and understanding that only rarely they miss the point.

NS, p. 443 (44) Like a shepherd who is well acquainted with his sheep, they are thoroughly conversant with the moods and temperaments of the people.

(45) If, perchance, some Khurāsānī, Rūmī or Arab comes here, he will not have to ask for anything.

(46) Because they will treat him as their own. They will play an excellent host to him and win his heart.

(47) Even if they indulge in humour with him, they also know to smile like flower (and entertain their guest) *

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* This is translation of 14 couplets of the ninth and the last chapter of Khusrau's **Nuh-Sipihr.** He is speaking about the work itself (viz. the **Nuh-Sipihr**) in this topic (No 51) and it is in the midst of this discussion that he speaks of the cultural excellence of India, by the way. This praise of India and its culture is exceptionally important and, as such, it is given here in a separate chapter, though this translation is mainly limited to the third Sipihr of the work.

NOTES :

1. They can be called human beings in the real sense, as they have human feelings, qualities and values.

2. Khusrau alludes to the simple yet religious and philosophic way of life of the Hindus. Though they are illiterate, culture is the way of their life and they have not to learn it through books. Culture grows in this country as naturally as vegetation and it is the best teacher to the people of India. Probably, this is Khusrau's best commendation of his motherland.

Appendices

APPENDIX–A

TABLE SHOWING KHUSRAU'S ARRANGEMENT OF CHAPTERS OF THE NUH-SIPIHR IN RELATION TO THE NINE SKIES AND THEIR PRESIDING PLANETS

Sky		Presiding Planet		Khusrau's Chapter
Ninth Sky (Arsh) (Falak'ul-Aflāk, the Highest Sky)	—	Seat of God	—	I
Eighth Sky	—	Signs of Zodiac (राशियां)	—	II
Seventh Sky	—	Saturn (Zuḥl, शनि)	—	III
Sixth Sky	—	Jupiter (Mushtari, (बृहस्पति)	—	IV
Fifth Sky	—	Mars (Mirrīkh or Bahrām 'The Hunter of Sky' मंगल)	—	V
Fourth Sky	—	Sun (Shums, सूर्य)	—	VI
Third Sky	—	Venus (Zuhra, शुक्र)	—	VII
Second Sky	—	Mercury (Atārad, बुद्ध)	—	VIII
First Sky (Falak-i-Qamar)	—	Moon (Qamar, चन्द्र)	—	IX

APPENDIX-B

A BRIEF LIFE-SKETCH OF SHEIKH NIẒĀMU'D-DĪN AULIYĀ

His real name was Muḥammad. He was surnamed Sulṭān'ul-Mashāikh Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā. Sheikh Farīdu'd-Dīn Masūd Shakargunj (Bābā Farīd) of Pak-Patan (Ajodhan) was his Pīr or preceptor. His ancestors were Sayyid. They had migrated to India from Bukhara. His grandfather Sayyid 'Alī'al-Bukhārī settled at Badaun which was then a prominent religious seat in northern India. His son Ahmed became Qāḍī of Badaun. He married his cousin Bībī Zulaikhā. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn was born to her on Wednesday 27th Safar in the year 636 A.H./9th October 1238 A.D. His father died when he was only 5. At 16 he came to Delhi and studied under Khwājah Shamsu'd-Dīn, a distinguished scholar of the time who later became Vazīr of Balban. Soon he became disciple of Bābā Farīd.

In 655/1257 when he was 20, he went to Pak-Patan. Bābā Farīd favourd him the most among his disciples, and it was to Niẓāmu'd-Dīn that he ultimately bequeathed the traditional relics and the Khilāfat of his order when he died in 664/1265.

The Sheikh settled at Delhi outside the city near a village which was later named Ghiyaṯhpur. The river Jamuna then flowed by it and the Sheikh built an humble hut on the river bank. The place rapidly grew into prominence and developed into a great centre of ṣūfī religion.[1] The Sheikh lived here throughout his life. He never married.

1. For a study of the Sufī religion in India, R. Nath's paper 'Indian Facet of Sufism' (**Udbodhan** New Delhi, Vol. VII No. 3 October 1977) may be referred to.

The Sheikh became popular and a large number of disciples and the people of Delhi attended his Khānqah. He was an extremely simple man and lived an austere life in seclusion and poverty. He disliked the company of Kings and never attended the Royal Court, even under coercion. Jalālu'd-Dīn Firoz Khaljī (1290-96) and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316) treated him with great respect. Prince Khiḍr Khān was a disciple of the Sheikh. But two Sulṭāns of Delhi, viz. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (1316-20) and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq (Ghāzī Tughluq) (1320-25) were not on cordial terms with the saint. Ghāzī Tughluq objected to the practice of Music at his Khānqah, but the theologians failed to pass a Fatwah against him. When in 1325 the Sulṭān was returning from Bengal, he sent advance word to the Saint to leave Delhi before his arrival. The Saint, in his usual simple way, replied: 'HANOZ DEHLI DŪR-AST' (Delhi is yet far off). The wooden pavilion which was erected for his reception at Afghanpur by the eldest Prince Jaunā Khān (later, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq), fell upon him and the Sulṭān died. The Sheikh also died a few months after, on Wednesday 18th Rabia-II, 725 A. H./1325 A. D. Amīr Khusrau whom the Sheikh loved the most, was not then present at Delhi. On his return to the capital he was shocked at the news of his Pīr's demise and broke down. He also died a few months thereafter.[2]

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2 For a detailed study of the Sheikh's life and work, reference may be made to **Akhbar'ul-Akhyar** of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi (Delhi, 1332 A. H.), **Khazinat'ul-Asfiya** of Ghulam Sarwar (Nawalkishore Press Kanpur 1902), **Rahat'ul-Qulub** of Sheikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliyā (Qasmi Press Meerut 1325 A. H.); **Siyar'ul-Arifin** of Hamid bin Fazlullah alias Jamālī (Rizwi Press Delhi 1311 A. H.) and **Siyar'ul-Auliya** of Amīr Khurd (Delhi, 1302 A. H.).

APPENDIX-C*

'TO THE HINDU SINGER'

NS, p. 210 "*May God grant our King the Empire of Rum and Khita, over and above the Kingdom of Hind.*

O King, you are my patron and I have dedicated my life a d soul to you. The black mole on your cheek is as strong as is the (Planet) Mars.[1]

Please give me wine, but not of any other country. Give me wine of this country, i.e. the juice of sugarcane (which is not the less exhilerating than wine).

When the Hindu musician plays on the Alāwan (Sitār), my veins vibrate like the strings of a musical instrument.

O Singer ! Sing a song which may captivate my heart. The pathos of your song will relieve me of pain and sorrow.

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* This (the last seven couplets and the Ghazal) is the concluding portion of the Third Sipihr and of the Heading : "Crossing of the River Narmada and the receipt of 200 elephants laden with treasures from Tilang (Telingana)".

1. The words "Hinduye' and 'Turk' are meaningful as over and above their literal meaning, they also denote racial denominations. The simile of black mole was a popular artifice of the Persian maestros and has been commonly used by them, see for example, Hafiz's couplet quoted in Note No. 7 Chapter-1, above.

O my Friend! You can cure my ailing heart. Fascinate it by the sweetness of your Rāga Rāmakalī. NS, p. 210

If you want me to suggest a Ghazal to you for singing, here is one in Persian which you may sing in Hindi style.[2]

GHAZAL

My Hindu beloved is as competent a slayer as is a ruthless Turk. Owing to love for the Hindu beloved, my heart has become an idol-house.[3]

Sometime she is angry, sometime playful; at some other time she is coquettish or full of pride.

O look at the extreme stage of the drunkenness of her beautiful eyes which are like the flowers of Narcissus. When she combs her hair, I cannot save my life from her (Her comb is an augury to me). NS, p. 211

I have made a deity of my beloved and I submit my petitions to her. So long as her memory is in my heart, I worship her.

The black mole on the cheek of my beloved has left a permanent imprint on my eye and it reflects the beauty of the mole.

Those beauties (beautiful persons) who take me for a beggar will find me immensely enriched by the generosity of the King, the Pole of the World.

The Royal gifts are immeasurable, and they are comparable to the measure and standard of the Nine Skies.

If we do not want to sacrifice our life before our beloved, we can enjoy the pleasure of love within ourselves.

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2. Sing it in the style of Indian Music, i. e. in an Indian Rāga.

3. I worship her like an idol in my heart.

HS, p. 211

Your drunken eyes have gone into the depth of my heart and soul which are mad with love[4]! Look, how these two, drunken and mad things have entangled (as if in a bout) together.

Khusrau does not say anything except about the sweet lips of his beloved. Look, how sweetly he has narrated this (i.e. composed this Ghazal).

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4. I am altogether lost in the beauty of your eyes.

APPENDIX-D

KHUSRAU'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF DELHI

"*Description of Mubārak Shāh Buildings in the Dār'ul-Khilāfat Delhi and the beginning with a Mosque (House of God)*" NS, p. 76

The grace of kingship is to consolidate the foundations of the religion.

The foundations of goodness should be laid strong with stone so that they may last long.[1]

The mosque should be raised as high as Sky. NS, p. 77

Do not grudge the expenditure on the construction of Mosque of stones, as it fully deserves to be built of pearls.

Now look at the art of Poetry–how beautifully I narrate this story and ornament it with pearls.

When the King, Mubārak Shāh, the Pole of the world sat on the throne, which is eternal like Pole Star,[2]

He desired to build some magnificent buildings to immortalise his reign.

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1 All good rulers like to leave enduring monuments behind them as memorial to their virtuous regime.

2. Cynosure or the Little Bear (ध्रुव तारा), which has a fixed position in the sky.

NS, p. 77 First of all, he founded a Fort which was raised high to the sky.

This pleasant building was completed with great exertion.

When he became the King of the Islamic World (Sāhib-i-Khilāfat) on account of his justice and popularity, he named it the Fort of the Dār'ul-Khilāfat.

Though the King wanted to go out for the conquest of the world (he gave up this idea).

First he liked to do some good and memorable deeds and took up this work in hand.

NS, p. 78 He ordered a Jami' Masjid to be built and he liked it to be higher than the Sun.

The Sun will bow before its arches and the non-believers will learn a lesson from it.[3]

....

When the Mosque was completed, the Khalīfah, the King Mubārak Shah went into it on the eve of the Friday prayers.

....

NS, p. 141 Some time thereafter he ordered a lofty building to be raised within the Fort and the Palace.

First he built Baitulallāh (Mosque) and then Baitul-Khilāfat (Palace), then he took up this work.

A minaret was constructed in the court-yard of the Mosque with exquisite stones.

3. The Sun is deemed to be a Hindu deity. Hence the reference. Hereafter follows a description of the construction of this mosque in 14 couplets.

Strong and deep foundations were laid and the building was beautifully finished. NS, p. 141

The stones were so brilliantly polished that they looked like mirror.

Stones became mirrors, which is very surprising.

The red and black stones were used together most harmoniously.

They could have built it with precious stones like Ruby and Yaqut, but it would have been a temptation to thieves,

Had they used gold and silver in its construction, it would have been inauspicious like the Palace of Shaddād.

Some stones are better than pearls which are cause of trouble.

....

Clay, stone and brick are looked down upon but look ! how useful they are everywhere. NS, p. 142

The palace (Aiwān) of the King was also beautiful inside. Though it was like the mountain of Besutūn,[4] thousands of pillars were cut into it.[5]

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4. 'Besutun' literally means without pillars. This is the name of the mountain which Farhād cut through, for the love of Shīrīn.

5. It is a pity that no trace of these buildings of Mubārak Shāh is found at present.

APPENDIX-E

KHUSRAU'S VINDICATION OF INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī ascended the throne of Delhi on 24 th Muharram 716 A.H./18th April 1316 A.D. Hitherto, the Sulṭāns of Delhi had been paying allegiance to the idea of Khilāfat and had been designating themselves as lieutenant of the Khalīfah. Mubarak Shāh, for the first time, dropped all reference to the Khalīfah, in Khutba and in coins, and proclaimed his own sovereignty. He assumed the title of Khalīfah *'Al-Wāsiq Billāh'*[1] and declared himself to be *'Al-Imām'ul Āzam, Khalīfa Rab'ul Ālmīn'* (The Mighty Imām of the world, Khalīfah of the God of Heaven and Earth) as his coins testify.[2] His coins usually bear the legends: *'Al-Sultān'ul Āzam'*, *'Al-Imām'ul Āzam'* and *Khalīfah-Allāh'*.[3] He raised the status of his capital to *'Haḍrat Dār'ul-Khilāfat'*[4] (The August Seat of the Khalīfah of the World).

This youngman did what even his father Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji who was an exceptionally wise and powerful ruler could not do; he broke the fiction of the Khalīfah to pieces and repudiated the concept of the Khilāfat.[5] Was it a random and reckless act of a vain, arrogant and cynic despot ! Or was this novel act of the young Sulṭān

1. Edward Thomas, **The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi** (London, 1871) pp 179-81, Coins Nos. 142, 145 and 146
2. Ibid, pp. 179-80, Coins Nos. 142 and 145, both minted in 718/1318.
3. Ibid, pp. 179-83, Coins Nos. 142, 143, 145-149 and 151-153.
4. Ibid, pp. 180, 181 and 183, Coins Nos. 145, 146 and 154.
5. An allusion to this has also been made above in Chapter-2 Note No 19

intellectually supported, nay, reinforced? Distinct and unmistakable references in the *NS*, give the answer to this question in the affirmative and prove that Amir Khusrau, the greatest intellectual of the age, was at the back of this idea which he has not only strongly supported but has also gone a long way to vindicate Indian sovereignty vis-a-vis the Khilāfat.

In the *NS*, Khusrau, more often than not, addressed his patron Mubārak Shāh as Khalīfah and also called him *Quṭb-i-Zamīn* (Pole of the Earth) and *Quṭb-i-Falak* (Pole of the Sky) over and over again. These references are too numerous in the *NS* to be recounted. Besides these, there are specific mentions of Mubārak Shāh's assumption of the Khilāfat, e.g. :-

> **" Jahān-Bādshāh Quṭb-i-Duniyā-o-Dīn,**
> **Ki Zille-Khudāyast Meher-i-Zamīn. "[6]**

He is the King of the World and Pole of the Earth and Religion; he is Shadow of God and Sun on Earth.

> **" Chu Sāhib-i-Khilāfat shud az adlo-rāfah,**
> **Nihādash laqab hisn-i-Dār'ul-Khilāfah. "[7]**

When he became the King of the whole Islamic world on account of his justice and popularity, he named it (the fort which he had built at Delhi) the fort of the Dār'ul-Khilāfat. It is noteworthy that Khusrau bestowed upon him the title : 'Sāhib-i-Khilāfat'.

> **" Chu Dār'ul-Khilāfast buniyād-e-Dehlī,**
> **Mare kard har kishwar az yād-i-Dehlī. "[8]**

When the foundation of the Dār'ul-Khilāfat was laid in Delhi, it became famous in the world. Here it has been specifically mentioned that the foundation of the Khilāfat was laid in Delhi, i.e. Mubārak Shāh assumed Khilāfat; it was not here before.

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6. NS, p. 51.
7. Ibid, p. 77.
8. Ibid, p. 143.

" Magar guft Baghdād bā har ki bāyad,
Ki Dār'al-Khilāfat ba-Dehlī na shāyad. "[9]

But Baghdad (objected to it and) said, whatever it is, Dār'ul-Khilāfat, viz. the Seat of the Khalīfah and the centre of the whole Islamic world should not be there at Delhi. This is the most significant reference. Baghdad was the Seat of the Khilāfat till 1258 A. D., when Hulagu killed the last Khalīfah al-Mustaṣim and put the Dār'ul-Khilāfat to sword and fire. But even after the end of the Baghdad-Khilāfat, the fiction of the Khalīfah of Baghdad was kept alive and adhered to, by such powerful rulers as Balban (1265-86) and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316) who only styled themselves as lieutenant of the deceased and disgraced Khalīfah. Khusrau considered it necessary to raise this argument on behalf of the Baghdad-Khilāfat in order to repudiate it, which he did meaningfully, though poetically, thus :-

" Qadar guft taighat che rānam rui rad,
Ki az taigh Dajlā dunīmī tū ham khad. "[10]

God so decreed that (O, Baghdad !) we will not use a sword against you (to counter your claim for Dār'ul-Khilāfat) because the River Tigris has already cut you into two parts (as the river flows by the middle of the city of Baghdad). Khusrau has, thus, openly rejected Baghdad as the Dār'ul-Khilāfat and upheld Delhi to this august status.

" Zi misre āmad en nuktā dar goshe sāmay,
Ki mānind-i-Dehlī manam misre- Jāmay. "[11]

Egypt also raised the point that, unlike Delhi, it was the centre of the world, viz. The Dār'ul-Khilāfat. This is, obviously, an allusion to the historical fact that after the end of the Baghdad-Khilāfat, the Khilāfat was transferred to Egypt. But Khusrau rejected its claim also and observed :-

9. Ibid, p. 143.
10. Ibid, p. 143.
11. Ibid, p. 143.

" Davān bahre chashme badān be-dalīlash,
Kashīd āsmān dar binā gosh nīlash. "[12]

In order to protect Delhi from this evil eye of Egypt, God pierced its ear through the river Nile, to make it look like a slave. This is a poetic way to denounce; precisely Khusrau rejected and repudiated the Egypt Khilāfat also.

Likewise, Khusrau advanced claims of Khita, Khurasan, Tirmiz, Tabrez, Bukhara and Khwarizm to be the Dar'ul-Khilāfat[13] and rejected them, one and all. Finally, he upheld that ONLY Delhi is the Dār'ul-Khilāfat. This also fully supports Mubārak Shāh's step to designate Delhi as Haḍrat Dār'ul-Khilāfat, as his coins testify.

Khusrau noted in the same reference :-

" Falak guft har chaz zamīn kishwar āmad,
Azān jumlā Hindostān bar tar āmad. "[14]

The Sky[15] (decided the issue and) said, among all the countries of the world, India is the best (and hence it is only here that the Dār'ul-Khilāfat can be founded).

" Bar asbāt-e en Sikkaye Pādshāhī,
Do quṭb-e falak nīz dādā gavāhī. "[16]

The coinage of this Kingship (of Mubārak Shah) has been finally confirmed by the two poles of the Sky. This is again an extremely important reference. Mubārak Shāh had the coins struck in his

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12. Ibid, p. 143; in fact Khusrau paid little regard to Cairo and Baghdad and named them insignificantly. In another reference, in the **Nihayat'ul-Kamal**, he noted :—"It is due, perchance, to hearing the fame of this city (Deogir) that Cairo has dipped her robe in the Nīl (a play upon the word Nīl meaning indigo, the colour of mourning and also river Nile) and Baghdad has split into two (by the river Tigris)" Cf. **LW**, op cit. p. 130.

13. Ibid, pp. 143-45.

14. Ibid, p. 144.

15. Meaning thereby the Universe.

16. Ibid, p. 144.

own name, dropped reference to the Khalīfah and himself assumed this title, in them, He vindicated his sovereignty through his coins. Obviously, Khusrau supports this move and confirms that this was perfectly in order and received the sanction of God and the True Religion, This shows, without any doubt, that Mubārak Shāh's repudiation of the Khalīfah was not a freak's wild imagination, or a debauch's random whim, or a silly and cynical move of a medieval despot; on the other hand, it had a solid and substantial intellectual background, of which Amir Khusrau provides the best testimony. It was a well-calculated move and a step into the direction of Indian Nationalism, precisely for the vindication of Indian sovereignty vis-a-vis the concept of the Khilāfat, which the 'Ulema sought to impose as a legal injunction upon the infant and weak Delhi Sultanate.[17]

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17. A full background of this study has been given in R. Nath's paper **'Amir Khusrau's Experiment in Nationalism'** **Indo-Iranica** Calcutta Vol. XXXI Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1978).

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